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The Nation

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The Nation

Vol. CVII NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 6, 1918 No. 2766

The Week

AS announced elsewhere, with this issue the editorial separation of the *Nation* from the New York *Evening Post* becomes complete. Towards this end both publications have been working in complete harmony for some time. For various reasons it has long been apparent that both journals would profit by such a change. The *Nation*, for instance, has suffered by a mistaken belief that it is merely a weekly edition of the *Evening Post*. More than four years ago the latter felt the need of a literary department of its own and established it. Lately a larger and larger proportion of the editorial matter, like all correspondence, book reviews, etc., of the *Nation* has appeared in this periodical alone, so that the announcement in this issue actually involves only a slight additional change. Thus ends an alliance dating back to 1881, when the ownership of the two publications was merged by Mr. Henry Villard.

IT is more than a sentimental interest that attaches to this year's world-wide celebration of our most important national holiday. American flags flying in every Allied capital of Europe, services of thanksgiving and prayer being held in the English cathedrals, great processions moving down the streets of Rome and Florence, exercises taking place at Nancy, despite its sufferings in the war—these and a hundred other demonstrations occurring in our honor are not simply pretty compliments to a nation whose unexhausted strength is now as a tower of refuge to our sore beset allies. Such manifestations signify a new sympathy, perhaps to some extent a new understanding—above all, a new respect on both sides. And for us they mean a new responsibility that our people as yet do not realize. There is something almost pathetic in the eagerness with which liberal Europe has been reaching out after American leadership. The old hopes in large part are dead; the old statesmanship has proved itself bankrupt. A disillusioned Europe hangs eagerly on the words of an American President. On this day of liberty, it is for Americans highly to resolve that we shall take those words at their full face value, that we shall live up to Europe's faith in us, and prove our belief in freedom and democracy by dealing as free men and democrats with our citizens at home and our neighbors abroad.

AMERICAN influence beyond our borders does not have political and spiritual consequences alone, however. The dispatches of a single day last week informed us that King George was learning to throw a baseball, and that the King and Queen had eaten buckwheat cakes and maple syrup in a Y. M. C. A. hut, and had pronounced them good. A royal ruler who can play baseball and eat buckwheat cakes is half Americanized already, and if the King would only learn to chew gum and whittle with a jack-knife we should be ready to confer honorary citizenship on him. Incidentally, it is not the King alone who is getting acquainted. We cannot send a million or two men abroad without helping both sides to know each other a little better, and a practical internationalism of this sort may be not the least valuable fruit of our participation in the war.

PUBLIC interest in the Russian situation, already much added to during the past few weeks by persistent appeals for intervention, has received a dramatic impetus by the reappearance of Kerensky and his speech before the annual conference of the British Labor party in London. He will shortly, it is announced, visit the United States, where a number of his former official associates are said to be awaiting him. London dispatches report Kerensky as saying that Russia is like a strong man who is recovering from a serious illness, and that what the country needs is material help, and not outside interference with its internal affairs. Aside, however, from the personal interest which naturally attaches to a man who played a striking part in a turbulent period of Russian history, it is not clear that Kerensky's reappearance is likely to affect very much the attitude of the Allies or the United States towards Russia. The Kerensky régime, so far as the confused and imperfect knowledge of Russian conditions which is available enables one to judge, is dead, and even if the form of government which it embodied is ever restored, there is no sufficient reason to believe that Kerensky himself will be the head of it. On the other hand, any light that Kerensky can throw upon the actual workings of the Bolshevik Government will be welcome, notwithstanding that his natural hostility to those who overthrew him cannot fail to color his judgment. Kerensky's announcement that he regards himself as now only "a citizen of Russia," and his apparent intention to present himself only in the character of a private citizen, will at least make it unnecessary to raise any troublesome questions of diplomatic recognition.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S expressed wish to "help Russia" appears to be taking form. The unofficial news comes from Washington that the President has decided to send a commission to Russia, partly to serve as a means of getting necessary supplies to the Russian people, and partly to pave the way for a general economic and political rehabilitation of the country. No troops, it is announced, are to accompany the commission except the small number necessary for a guard, and the approval of the Allies and of China and Japan is to be secured. Beyond these general indications, the details of the plan have not, at this writing, been given out. One may well rejoice that Mr. Wilson has at last decided to make some effort to send to Russia the food and clothing that are needed if the country is not to continue to suffer from hunger and nakedness. The only criticism to be passed is that something of the kind was not done long ago. There will be need of the utmost promptness now, if anything important is to be accomplished before winter, or if German economic penetration, which all accounts agree is being systematically pushed, is to be effectively offset. In the present demoralized condition of Russian in-

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dustry and social life, money has become of relatively little value. The nation which has the largest quantity and variety of necessary goods, including food, to distribute or exchange, is likely to be the one which, in the present crisis, will get closest to the hearts of the Russian people.

WHILE it is plain that the Austrians escaped the complete disaster which appeared to confront them last week and that the Italian offensive was not able to progress beyond the Piave, the crushing of the Austrian attack remains a magnificent achievement. The Austrian public cannot be befogged into believing that something worth while has been achieved, either by von Kühlmann's declaration that Austria has served well by "containing" large enemy forces, or by reference to the few new positions still held by Austrians. What the Central Powers expected was a smash like that of last fall—not a trifling advance at a cost which has filled Austria with rumors that 500,000 men have been sacrificed in vain. Doubtless the fresh outbreaks in Hungary and Bohemia and the reported mutinies in Hungarian regiments have been fanned into flame by despair of a military victory and anger over the defeat. Everywhere it must intensify the unhappiness in the Dual Monarchy. Indeed, the political effect of the Italian victory far outweighs the military consequences. The Austrian army can perhaps be rebuilt in a few months, but the political results of its defeat cannot be overcome.

ON Wednesday last Lloyd George made his eagerly expected defence of his reversal of policy in regard to Ireland. Nothing, we venture to say, has done his reputation as a singularly agile and aggressive fighter, when in a tight corner, so much harm as this appearance. The full text of his address as cabled to the *World* is hardly recognizable as an utterance of the same man who carried off the Maurice episode with such brilliancy and success. It is hesitating, unconvincing, and so feeble that one wonders how a division of the House was avoided. He admitted blundering, but sought to place the real odium of the fiasco upon the Sinn Fein and the Catholic clergy. He also bewailed the failure to introduce Home Rule the minute it was passed instead of putting it off until after the war, but while he had many regrets, he had nothing constructive to suggest. He still had hopes of a solution, and he insisted that he had not abandoned either Home Rule or conscription. But he had to follow the advice of his counsellors, who had portrayed a condition of affairs which, with all the sources of information at his disposal, he had not suspected.

OF course, Lloyd George made full use of the alleged pro-German plot, and so did Mr. Shortt, the new Secretary for Ireland. All they said, however, adds only to the mystery of this extraordinary conspiracy. As partial proof of its foulness, Mr. Shortt cited—in all seriousness—the finding of a letter on Professor de Valera in which he spoke of "something" that was "going to happen" in two months after the beginning of the German drive. A proclamation which may have been a hoax was the next bit of evidence, and then there were trotted out some charges antedating the revolution of 1916 and the familiar assertions as to seditious utterances in Ireland. Now the revolution of 1916 ought to be barred by the statute of limitations, since all who survived it and the executions were pardoned last year, and as for seditious utterances, Ireland has admittedly echoed to them ever since conscription was announced. To his credit, be it said, Mr. Shortt declared that there would be no more hasty executions. So the situation is that the bulk of Ireland is charged with treason without the production of convincing evidence, and the arrested individuals are not to be allowed their day in court to prove their innocence or to be convicted. England arrests, but does not prosecute! It is all so pitiful that the true friends of England cannot but feel the deepest sorrow. Both sides are in the wrong—those Irishmen who would right their wrongs by force the most of all. America looks on, eager to be a friend to both, and cannot help, yet remembers that only a few weeks ago Lloyd George declared the introduction of Home Rule essential to the war and the contentment of America in the war.

MEANWHILE the conference of the British Labor party, by a vote of about two to one, has decided to withdraw from the political truce. This means, as indicated by Mr. Henderson, that the party will now begin to contest bye-elections, and with such action under way, it is difficult to see how the Labor members can retain their seats in the Cabinet, unless they withdraw from the party. On the other hand, it is conceivable that they may seek to maintain their present position and carry with them in support of the Government the more conservative wing of the Labor party. In any case, the schism in that group promises to make more difficult the already difficult task of Mr. Henderson in preventing the swing to the left. At the same time, these latest developments carry no comfort or promise to the Prime Minister, who apparently is saved from the necessity of facing a general election only by the delay in preparing the register.

WE should hate to believe that there is a deliberate attempt to misrepresent the position of the British and French labor movements concerning the question of an inter-belligerent labor conference as a possible means of bringing the right kind of peace. Yet it is hard to ascribe to anything less mischievous than wilful ignorance the sedulous fostering of the misconception that is so prevalent here. For example, we are informed that Albert Thomas has broken with his former colleagues and come over to the position of the American labor mission in opposing any conference, because, he is quoted as saying, "As long as the German Socialists do not reply to the memorandum of London, which sets forth the objects of the war as outlined by Wilson and Lloyd George, no conference with them will be possible." But this is exactly what Henderson and Thomas and the other leaders have insisted on from the beginning—to invite into conference such Teutonic labor leaders only as accepted the peace principles of the Inter-Allied Labor Conference and President Wilson, and see if they could do anything to bring about the kind of peace based on those principles, and no other kind.

CANADA has just completed a registration of all persons in the Dominion who are over sixteen years of age. The primary object was to secure the necessary data for such industrial mobilization as may be necessary, but military conscription, the oversight of aliens or suspected persons, and the rounding-up of slackers of all sorts will also be facilitated. For the first time in its history, Canada will now know not only who its people are (birth, marriage, and death records have provided that information with tolerable

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thoroughness), but also where they are and what they are doing. The registration—historically, of course, quite un-English and un-American—appears to have been carried through without opposition and in a spirit of loyal coöperation with the Government. It is by no means impossible that the principle involved may be thought worthy of preservation after the war. Americans who have been in Europe are familiar with the elaborate systems, operated chiefly through the police, for keeping track of travellers as well as of residents, which have long obtained in many Continental countries. There seems to be no good reason why the residence and occupation of a citizen, and his whereabouts from day to day if he moves about the country, should not be recorded by the Government if it desires the information. It is important to note that the Canadian registration was made under Government direction, and not turned over to private or semi-public organizations.

NOW that, beginning with July 1, tramps, loafers, and male idlers generally are to be rounded up and set to work, the Federal Government is in a position to adopt some rational solution of a peculiarly difficult problem. The habitual loafer has, as a rule, no training of any sort. On the rare occasions when he has worked, it has usually been at some unskilled occupation requiring the minimum of intelligence, attention, or strength. He is often illiterate. Passing his useless days in an anti-social atmosphere, and imbued with the feeling that the world is against him, he has few of the wants of a normal man, little sense of the value of money, and no ambition. Moreover, he is often mentally subnormal, frequently diseased, and not seldom a criminal. A manufacturer, however great the need of labor, may well dread the presence in his plant of these dissolute and worthless persons. Why should not the Government undertake to get rid of tramps and loafers, not by forcing them to work at jobs which most of them will perform very badly, but by rehabilitating them, mentally, morally, and physically, and turning them into useful citizens and workers? What such men need, if they are to be worth anything to any employer, is food, cleanliness, decent clothes, fresh air, medical attention, elementary education, and discipline, in addition to regular occupation. Why not gather them in industrial camps, fit them as rapidly as possible for useful service, and then place them here or there about the country as their labor is needed? There are said to be not less than 250,000 such men in the United States. Industrial salvage on such a scale seems distinctly worth while.

THE suffrage postponement in the Senate was disappointing, indeed. For the lack of only a couple of votes, this great reform was again jockeyed out of position and may be indefinitely postponed. In a war for democracy we continue to deny our women this elementary right that has now been given in Canada, England, and Russia and is proposed to be given in France. Not even the President's repeated appeals have been able to break down the Southern opposition. Senator Williams put it quite frankly: the South, he said, simply could not afford to give what was asked in the bill—the Negro vote, of course. Yet it was only the other day that Texas enfranchised all its women to the extent of allowing them to vote in the primary. Sooner or later the South must realize that it must give up its old intransigent position in regard to Negro voting and take steps to safeguard democracy here at home not by disfranchising or defrauding our colored fellow-citizens, but by giving them their full share in government, subject to an honest educational test. The black troops who are battling so bravely in France will never be content to come back to America and be told that they are only half men.

German music, as a whole, is dangerous, in that it preaches the same philosophy, or rather sophistry, as most of the German literature. It is the music of conquest, the music of the storm, of disorder, and devastation. It is symbolical of neither the sunbeams singing among the daisies nor of grand cathedral bells calling worshippers to prayer. It is rather a combination of the howl of the cave man and the roaring of north winds.

THUS writes the Los Angeles *Times* in insisting that German music be barred everywhere as it has been from the public schools of its city. No educational institutions must compromise with it, however curious it may be that no one else has pronounced it to be the "howl of the cave-man" until now! But since the Los Angeles *Times* bases its views on an exalted patriotism, let it be so. We shall treat the golden melodies of Beethoven, Schumann, and Schubert as cave noises and forerunners of the Belgian atrocities, and shall make the welkin ring with our protests if any one plays them. Some one ought, however, to take a decadent Englishman like Sir Henry Wood in hand. With the German offensive on, he has been playing Brahms and Beethoven and other Teutonic cave-men as well at Queen's Hall, London. True, he is quoted as saying that this war "will clear the air of that wretched Germanism from which we were suffering"—referring, probably, to the extreme moderns. But he treasonably insists that, as the troops "will come back from the trenches dying for classical music," he is going to continue to produce the old German masters.

GEORGE BOWDEN, the Tedesco Country Club professional, who celebrated a sparkling seventy at the recent tourney at Brae Burn by announcing his retirement from golf on July 1 to enter an "essential occupation," brought golfers to a realizing sense of the fact that General Crowder's work or fight stipulation may prove to have a far wider application as regards sports than most of us thought; for the problem of the baseball players in the big leagues seems exclusively to have filled the public mind in this connection. But it is understood that Louis Tellier, professional of the Country Club of Brookline, will emulate Bowden's example. That other professionals will follow Bowden and Tellier, either willingly or otherwise, is not to be doubted, while at the same time we have the new treaty between Great Britain and the United States for reciprocal operation of draft laws. Through this treaty all British subjects between the ages of twenty and forty-four are liable to call; a number of professional golfers now in this country are thus affected. Sequential results will undoubtedly soon appear, and among them will be the disappearance of one of the stock features of country club life—the professional, with his Scotch brogue, or broader English accents, holding forth in his little office, or giving practical impulse to the golfing idea on the links. The accruing loss to our golfers will be more or less technical. Bilson will be obliged to improve his short game by the perusal of textbooks, or through the advice of more gifted friends, while Jones and Jenkins and others of the great army of the inept will be compelled to await the ending of the war before their cards reflect that improvement in play which the ministrations of the clever professional are usually able to bring about.

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An Informal Peace Conference

IN spite of the discordant chorus of censure and approval which has greeted the recent speeches of Dr. von Kühlmann and Count von Hertling, the speeches themselves raise once more a question which has long troubled some of the most loyal supporters of the Allied cause. Why is it that, with each side professing an earnest desire for peace, no attempt is made to get together and talk things over? With the United States and England and Germany all announcing their peace terms, why has there not been at least an informal conference to discuss the matter? Granted that some of the claims on either side are, or are thought to be, extreme or dubious, and that neither party greatly trusts the other, are the reasons conclusive against a preliminary parley? No more in diplomacy than in business, in ordinary times, is it thought necessary to defer negotiations merely because all the demands of the parties concerned do not harmonize in advance, or because one side is suspected of sharp practice while the other has not fully disclosed his hand. On the contrary, such conditions frequently suggest that negotiations had best begin at once, even if nothing more is accomplished than clearing the air and letting in the light. Why do the warring nations, in spite of their professions, hold stubbornly to a different course?

Dr. von Kühlmann, for example, in his Reichstag speech, makes the significant admission that an end of the war "can hardly be expected through purely military decisions alone." Kaiser and General Staff to the contrary notwithstanding, Germany can no longer hope to defeat the Allies in the field. Here, certainly, is a hopeful opening for diplomacy. With regard to Belgium, which he views as "one question in the entire complex," he declines to offer "a prior concession" by making a statement which would bind Germany "without in the least binding the enemy." The Allies also regard Belgium as "one question in the entire complex," and are determined that, whatever else happens, the independence of Belgium shall be restored. Because, however, the question of Belgium cannot be compromised, is no reason why a number of other questions could not be discussed. "The absolute integrity of the German Empire and its allies," declares Dr. von Kühlmann, is now, as formerly, "the necessary prerequisite condition for entering into a peace discussion or negotiations." President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George have both stated emphatically that they do not desire the destruction of Germany or its people. With the existence of Germany as a nation not an issue, a large ground for discussion is already cleared.

The Imperial Chancellor, Count von Hertling, goes further than the Foreign Secretary, and puts the question of opening negotiations frankly up to President Wilson. On February 10, it will be remembered, Mr. Wilson enunciated four principles which, he declared, must govern in the making of peace. To those principles Count von Hertling, on February 24, gave his assent "in principle," and stated that the four points "might possibly form the basis of a general world peace." This, assuredly, was promising. Everybody knows that, in weighty matters, agreement upon principles is the usual preliminary to agreement upon details. To the assent of the Chancellor, however, Mr. Wilson has as yet vouchsafed no reply, and his silence now provokes Count von Hertling into a repudiation of a peace league of which the enemies of Germany desire to be the kernel.

This tossing back and forth of protestations and charges has become a farce. If we say that we desire peace, declares the Chancellor, our enemies call it "weakness," "impending collapse," or "a crafty trap." If, on the other hand, we assert our determination to defend ourselves against conquest, our opponents cry "militarism." Yet Mr. Asquith declares that no peace terms that are "unambiguous" will be ignored, and Mr. Balfour assures the House of Commons that any "sincere" offer will be carefully considered. Mr. Wilson has more than once spoken in the same strain. What is needed now is that the Governments which have been voicing these lofty sentiments should translate their words into acts. We agree with Dr. von Kühlmann that "far-going advances on the road to peace can hardly any longer be expected from public statements which we shout to each other from the speaker's tribune." If the Allies and Germany really desire peace, they ought now to find a way of getting together and discussing one another's terms.

This is not, in any sense whatever, the same thing as saying that the United States and the Allies must be prepared to accept a German peace. They desire nothing of the sort, and it will be their own fault if they are trapped into accepting one. They have certain demands which they cannot waive. They demand, for example, the restoration of Belgium and Servia, the return to France of the territory which Germany has conquered and devastated, the relief of small nationalities from political oppression, and assurance that such a war as is now going on will not occur again. If Germany will not accept these indispensable conditions, then let the war go on, if need be to its bitterest end. But we do not surely know that Germany, especially now that no victory at arms can certainly be descried, would not accept these terms; while in regard to a long list of other questions with which a peace settlement must deal, neither the Allies nor the Central Powers have yet made unequivocal declarations. There is moral compulsion, as well as happy circumstance, in the fact that the larger portion of the peace programme is still matter of debate even among the Allies themselves. Nothing is to be gained by reiterating the charge that Germany is insincere, and will not keep an agreement after one has been made. The conduct of Germany in the past has afforded, unhappily, only too much warrant for the charge. Nevertheless, her peace offers have been made, and the Allies may well give her an opportunity to confirm them, or else to repudiate them before the world.

Such a conference as has been indicated might well be, in every way, informal. It should be held on neutral soil, and might even be called by neutral Governments and participated in by their representatives. There need be no agreement to be bound by anything which the conference might do, nor any elaborate preparation of arguments or array of counsel and experts. It should be purely and simply an effort to discover, by frank discussion face to face, whether at this time a peace of any sort is possible. There need be no armistice; indeed, there should not be. Let hostilities continue in full vigor while the conference sits, as proof, if proof be needed, that the hand of America and the Allies will not be stayed until a righteous peace is assured. A conference under such conditions would be, to be sure, a proffering of both the olive branch and the sword; but so long as the leaders of the nations profess their earnest desire to receive the symbol of peace, it were better that it be proffered with arms than not at all.

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A Pseudo-League of Nations

IT is at least an interesting coincidence that the Reichstag speech of Dr. von Kühlmann, the Imperial Foreign Secretary, on June 24, should have been delivered just at the moment when the question of a league of nations was being actively discussed in England and France. A few days before, Viscount Grey had stirred England by the publication of a pamphlet in which the menace of militarism, and the necessity of joint action of all nations to combat it, were impressively set forth. "There is more at stake in the war than the existence of individual states or empires or the fate of a continent," he declared. "The whole of modern civilization is at stake." A league of nations, if it is to contribute to the saving of civilization and the safeguarding of future peace, must embody two principles. The idea "must be adopted with earnestness and conviction by the executive heads of states," and the Governments which unite to form it "must understand clearly that it will impose some limitations upon the national action of each and may entail some inconvenient obligations."

The first of these conditions Viscount Grey finds "actually fulfilled" in the case of President Wilson, and also, actually or potentially, in the case of the heads of all the Allied Governments. On the other hand, Germany, so long as military rule continues, will oppose the formation of a league of nations. The German people, accordingly, must be convinced that "force does not pay," that the aims and policies of her rulers "inflict intolerable and also unnecessary suffering upon her," and that only through the abandonment of "sharp swords, shining armor, and mailed fists" is the peaceful development of Germany to be assured. Until Germany realizes these truths, such a league of nations as President Wilson contemplates is impossible.

Viscount Grey's frank admission that nothing is to be hoped for from a league of nations unless Germany is a member has evoked hostile comment from the French press. What France is inclined to favor, if the expressions of leading Paris newspapers are an indication, is, apparently, a league of nations against Germany, not a league in which Germany will occupy a place. That such a union would mean, in practice, nothing less than a division of the world into two armed camps, with neutral states occupying a precarious No Man's Land between them, must be obvious. It is disappointing, therefore, to find Earl Curzon, the Government leader in the House of Lords, in a speech in the House on June 26, advocating virtually the same thing. It is true, as Earl Curzon pointed out, that the formal or informal union of the twenty nations, with about two-fifths of the population of the globe, now allied against Germany, is a hopeful nucleus for a true league of nations, and that some machinery for joint international action already exists. When, however, on the ground that the admission of Germany to a league of nations is "impossible" until she has been "compelled by force of arms to abandon her world dream," he proposes the formation of two leagues, one of the Allies and the other of their enemies, he is practically on all fours with the reactionary opinion of the Paris press. No such scheme, as Viscount Grey declares in his pamphlet, meets in the least the conditions of such a league as President Wilson urges.

Such a proposal as that of Earl Curzon plays directly into the hands of Germany. Count von Hertling, speaking in the Reichstag on June 25, twitted President Wilson for failing to reply to the Chancellor's acceptance "in principle" of Mr. Wilson's four principles of peace, enunciated in February, and declared that it was no longer necessary to discuss a league of nations of which the enemies of Germany "would be the kernel." If the opinions voiced by the Paris press, and given concrete shape by Earl Curzon, really expressed the minds of those who have been most concerned to bring about a league of nations, the sneer of Count von Hertling would have been justified.

We do not believe that any such conception of an international league will be generally accepted. There can be no objection to the Allies forming among themselves such a union as will best enable them to defeat the German armies and crush German militarism. No union of that kind, however, should be allowed to masquerade as a league of nations in any such sense as has hitherto been connoted by that term. An essential element of a true league of nations is that all nations shall be members of it. So long as a militant Germany puts civilization in peril, Germany cannot enter a world league. What is necessary is, as Viscount Grey points out, for Germany to undergo a change of heart, if President Wilson's conception of international unity is to be realized. It is one thing to discipline a member of the league for misconduct, once the league is formed. It is quite another thing to attempt to form a world union with the one great disturbing Power among the nations left out. To adopt the latter course would be to put a group of nations in battle array and call it peace. With the object-lesson of the present war writ large before our eyes, the last end of a world so organized would be worse than the first.

Nationalism and Free Trade

AN unnamed business man is quoted by Mr. Hamilton Holt as predicting free trade within five years. To bring about any such result, we must study the problem in a new setting. The old go-as-you-please policy in trade and industry is gone. In individualistic England and America, no less than in Germany, organization of manufactures and commerce on a nationwide scale is going forward, and practically no one questions its necessity as a condition of success in the years after the war. We do not refer simply to the extraordinary measures of unification being taken everywhere under the war powers, though not a few of them may easily enough become permanent. But in all countries we see the integration of manufactures, banking, railroads, merchant shipping, and marketing arrangements, proceeding under public encouragement and supervision. We have made the Sherman law a dead letter, we have passed the Webb act encouraging combinations for export trade, and almost without realizing it we are embarked, like the European states, on a policy of economic nationalism. Further, the world is, and will be for a long time to come, filled with fierce national hatreds and suspicions. Consequently Government and business here, as abroad, are going to act far more closely in harmony than before in behalf of what are conceived to be national interests. The process, we believe, is inevitable.

Our problem is simply whether free trade is a wise policy for us in such a world. Is it safe, and is it calculated to promote the ends we have set before ourselves? Defence, said Adam Smith, is of much more importance than opulence. In view of the past four years, no nation is going

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to adopt a policy that increases its liability to successful military attack, and many superficial observers imagine that this fact relegates free trade to the realm of impossibilities. But a league of nations is one of our fundamental war aims, and free trade is one of its essential foundation stones. Unless we would stultify our efforts in the struggle, we must hold fast in a determination to bring about the free exchange of products among the members of any such league, rather than plan now for discriminatory and bargaining duties that would, so long as they existed, make real union impossible.

But quite aside from the question of the league of nations, the war has shown us the wisdom of trade liberalism, even in a world of nationalistic rivalries. The astonishing economic and military power that Germany has displayed is not to be explained on the ground of her protective tariff, but on the basis of a highly developed, adaptable, scientific technology, in the hands of a people thoroughly organized for a military end. Germany's lack of materials, which unavoidably developed, even under protection, would, in face of the blockade, have reduced her to impotence but for the resourcefulness of her scientists. And Great Britain, the keystone of the Entente arch, has clearly owed to her extended trade the ability to furnish both the financial and the industrial sinews of war. Her most thoughtful leaders look, not to protection, but to the development of trade, combined with continued progress in applied science and business organization, for her future success.

In any case, permanent economic independence for any one people has become impossible. Nothing is gained to that end by the effort through tariffs to stereotype any particular industry or any special set of economic arrangements. The unessential industries of to-day are the "key" industries of to-morrow. The allies of one decade are the economic and political rivals of the next. The extraordinary tariff and trade alliance proposed by the Paris Conference of 1916 has already witnessed the defection of Russia. We cannot make ourselves "safe" by any scheme of protection, either alone or in alliance with other nations. The war, for all its profound consequences, gives not the least promise of bringing economic independence back to any state, despite much misdirected talk to that effect. For us to set our course in that direction is simply to shut our eyes to the economic facts of our time, because we are blinded by the political passions of the moment.

Americans ought therefore to remember the world leadership, in this as so many other matters, assumed by President Wilson, who calls for the "removal of economic barriers." The President's sight is clear on this as on other points; his summons is no counsel of perfection, but practical wisdom in the concrete practical situation. The common fear of economic "penetration," dumping, and other like bogeys, we ought to see clearly for what it is—not a sign of real economic danger, but a political emotion clothed in economic dress. We shall make our "essential" industries strong, not by tariffs, but by scientific and intelligent coöperation on the part of business men and the Government. With such a policy, foreign trade means strength and not weakness. And if, for lack of courage and insight, we fail now to insist on freedom of trade as our national policy, and as one of the essential elements in the league of nations that must come, we shall lose one of our greatest opportunities to bring about that "American" peace in which liberal Europe believes.

The Republican Plight

THE Congressional elections draw near, but the skies do not clear for the Republicans. No issue presents itself upon which they can seize and yet be free from the charge of partisan assault or of an effort to embarrass the Administration in the conduct of the war. Moreover, Mr. Wilson is at his old game of out-trumping the other fellow. No sooner does Mr. Taft begin to make the welkin ring with his demand for a five-million army than Mr. Wilson neatly turns the trick by asking: "Why stop at five millions?" Is there a hint of graft and negligence in airplane production? Promptly Mr. Hughes is called in to report, so that no Republicans can aver that the Democrats are seeking to whitewash any black stains upon the country's war record. Worst of all for the Republicans, the war programme is being carried out with such expedition and so far ahead of schedule that the most captious critic is silenced. If we turn to the platform of the Connecticut Republicans, the plight of the party is well revealed. They come out strongly for prohibition and suffrage and for "crushing the attempt of the German autocracy to substitute a military dictatorship for self-government and the right of independent thought," are "gratified" at the hastening of our war efforts and the extraordinary generosity of our people, and wind up with the assurance that no peace is wanted without victory, and that the welfare of the country after the war depends upon the return to power of the Republican party, "the only party that has demonstrated its ability to govern!" Thus they give us not one constructive idea, not one new policy, not a single alternative to what Mr. Wilson's Administration offers.

The truth is, of course, that besides being without an issue, the Republican party is utterly without leadership, and particularly without the leadership to cope with the cleverest of politicians, now resident in the White House. Mr. Taft's appearance as a "bitter-ender" demanding a march on Berlin, even if America perish in the attempt, has helped him not at all. Mr. Roosevelt is more nearly snuffed out than at any time in his career—there have actually been movements in the Middle West to form leagues for the internment of Mr. Roosevelt until the end of the war. Mr. Hughes gives no promise whatever of rising to the call of the times. He will undoubtedly do an able piece of work in his investigation of the aircraft situation, but this is not the hour for a man to make a great splurge by a successful investigation even if it should uncover much rottenness. Look where we will, we see no figure rising to assume the leadership; there is no Republican Governor in sight who seems of Presidential calibre—McCall, of Massachusetts, and Lowden, of Illinois, are the best.

If we turn to Congress, the utter lack of statesmanship is even more appalling for loyal Republicans. Mann's leadership in the House remains a joke, a grim and sad joke. In the Senate the names of Borah and Johnson suggest themselves as possibilities, but despite Senator Borah's good work along many lines, he has not impressed himself upon the country as a whole, and Mr. Johnson's reputation as the best Governor California ever had has not increased since he arrived at Washington. It is, of course, true that men like these grow rapidly during a campaign. With no desire to underrate their abilities, we would simply point out that they have not yet become so prominent by reason

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of their achievements as to make them flash instantly to mind when the party leaders look to 1920. In short, the Republican party seems quite in the doldrums.

This lack of all promise of an effective opposition is the more deplorable since there are constructive issues available for a party which has the sense to look for them and can cut itself loose from party tenets outlawed by the war. There is all the vast field of reconstruction when peace returns—reconstruction in the economic, social, and political life of the country, which must be met wisely and constructively unless we are to be swept off our feet by extreme radicalism. There are such domestic questions as a national educational system to make it impossible for any American child to grow up illiterate. There is the issue of a national budget, never so pressing and vital as to-day—Congressman McCormick, who may be the next Republican Senator from Illinois, is becoming the champion of this necessary reform. Then there are all the issues of the war itself. Despite Mr. Wilson's fourteen peace terms, our peace aims need still further clarification; they need to be talked out, to be impressed upon the people's consciousness so that we may realize that it is possible for our troops to win great victories in the field and yet be utterly defeated at the peace table. Finally, and not least, is the great issue of freedom of speech and of press, which has been so trampled upon by the very champions of carrying democracy to Berlin. A ringing American declaration along this line, a definite promise by the Republican party to undo the wrongs committed in this direction, would do infinitely more to win votes than a thousand solemn declarations by Mr. Taft, Mr. Root, and Mr. Hughes, and all the other outworn statesmen of the party, that it is more to be trusted than Mr. Wilson's Administration.

The Air Route to Liberty

COPENHAGEN, June 21.—Four residents of Berlin escaped from Germany Thursday in two airplanes and succeeded in landing safely in Denmark. One of the two occupants of the first Albatross was Dr. G. F. Nicolai, formerly a professor of physiology at Berlin University. He is the author of a book that denounced Prussian militarism and had been punished with imprisonment in a fortress because of its publication.—[Associated Press dispatch.

THUS the aeroplane begins a new phase of its career. At the very moment that it is being harnessed into prosaic daily service as a drudging mail-carrier, behold it enters anew the fields of romance. From its daily quest of life in mortal combat high above the reach of guns, it turns to the giving of what is sweeter than life. Somehow this particular Albatross swooped down in uninvited circles upon a greenswarded fortress parade ground, with its rigid Prussian sentries, its languid convalescents, its high militarists safe from the cannon's roar. Doubtless the aviator had some good excuse to make for his unexpected appearance there—a strut had parted; mayhap the engine was "missing." By no look or gesture did he betray himself, and as he tinkered slowly away at his old-fashioned Albatross, not much in use in these days of Gotha and Fokker, the crowd that had come running faded away, all save one prisoner. Then when all was clear, these two, the aviator and the professor who had dared to oppose the clamor of the multitude and the will of the Kaiser, rose quickly, trusting to fate in the clouds, seeking freedom in the blue dome.

And so they must have flown on and on, scanning every quarter for some sentry of the ether to challenge: "Who flies there?" Then the waters of the Baltic Sea were shimmering below and next Kiel Bay nestling in the green and yellow fields of Schleswig—Schleswig itself the hopeless captive of the very militarism from which these aviators were on their way. But that militarism could not permit an escape without a protest. No aeroplane must cross the boundary without reporting to the warden of the frontier. So soon there rise from below the puffs of bursting shell; the anti-aircraft guns are at work. The puffs come nearer and nearer and then fade away. Beneath is Denmark the sanctuary, and so to earth and safety; the all-precious opportunity to "Be as ourself in Denmark." Surely no more appropriate news has thrilled the world than this escape of one whose spirit has ever soared, no matter what the cost.

For novelist and playwright the aeroplane is now forever free to rescue at the last minute the all but hopelessly ensnared heiress, to snatch her from the arms of the villain. No fortuitous eleventh-hour landing from the skies can ever hereafter be deemed impossible. If Dr. Nicolai's companion could steal a military aeroplane when such are more than ever precious in Germany to-day, and could sail away unsuspected from the land of the *verboten,* then has truth again outdone fiction, and again made fiction its debtor. No longer shall we wonder just why that sledge was so fortunately at hand to carry Phileas Fogg another hundred leagues in his eighty-day dash around the world, or why the wind that wafted it so kindly chose to blow at the right hour from the right direction. We shall think of Professor Nicolai when we turn back to an old friend like this.

True, the news from Copenhagen dims many a long-heralded exploit. How tame hereafter will seem Edmond Dantès's plunge into the sea in the rôle of one already dead! Then, venturing into the real from the imaginary, how much less thrilling by comparison appears Carl Schurz's rescue of Gottfried Kinkel. Schurz, too, ventured into a German fortress, Spandau, and into the very prison itself. Standing outside the guardroom within the jail, with a pistol in each hand, he awaited the coming of a bribed jailer. Approaching footsteps made him resolve to take his own life if others than the friend and Kinkel should appear. The fates were with him—but there was no flying away for the fugitives, not even a railroad train to bear them on their way. A prosaic farmer's wagon took them to the coast and a fisherman's tiny bark to England. It lacks grandeur and all the thrill of a rush through the air at seventy-five miles an hour; but there were men to defy the Prussians then as well as to-day, and had they but triumphed in '48, there would have been a different tale for all the world.

But the flight to Copenhagen was not the aeroplane's only humanitarian deed last week. From the embattled Piave came the news of Austrian aeroplanes flying with food and Red Cross supplies to detachments beyond the river. Like great angels of mercy they must have seemed. Surely the time must not be far off when we shall think of the aeroplane not as an instrument of death alone. We shall see it speeding across the Atlantic and carrying mail in a day and night to San Francisco. We shall behold it bringing help in emergencies and at a speed beyond belief. But it is as an air-route to liberty that it will still appeal to us most. How many there must be like Sterne's raven crying to-day: "I can't get out." How many thousands in Berlin alone must be scanning the horizon for an Albatross to wing them away to the land of their dreams, to freedom and to peace.

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The Veteran Movement in Canada

By J. A. STEVENSON

SINCE 1916 there has grown up in Canada a movement whose duplication in the United States is an almost inevitable development. It consists of an attempt on the part of the returned soldiers to constitute themselves into a special fraternity within the community. The Great War Veterans Association of Canada has a simple and honorable history. It is the fruit of a spontaneous effort on the part of the returned soldiers to help themselves, and the natural outgrowth of a desire on their part to secure an organization and meeting place through which questions of common interest could be discussed, grievances redressed, and problems solved. As Canadian soldiers drifted back from Europe in the latter half of 1915, they naturally sought one another's society to discuss their experiences and problems, and in various cities and towns there were formed local associations, whose membership soon assumed considerable proportions. These bodies did excellent work in caring for their less fortunate members, in helping dependents, and voicing grievances; they soon won the respect and support of their several communities. But there was lacking any scheme of cöoperation and coördination between the various associations, a handicap doubly severe in Canada owing to the physical barriers interposed between the provinces.

Accordingly, early in 1917, the scattered associations were invited to send delegates to a national convention in Winnipeg. Delegates were in attendance from more than fifty local associations drawn from every province in Canada save Prince Edward Island. The proceedings were marked by complete harmony, and on April 15, 1917, the Great War Veterans Association of Canada was born. Its active membership is confined to men who have been overseas in the present war, but the privilege of associate membership is given to all who enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force or have seen service in some other British war. Within the Association no distinction is allowed to exist between officers and men; all are made welcome to its comradeship upon verification of their credentials. At the first convention a Dominion executive with one representative from each province was elected and a constitution was subsequently drawn up. Many problems relating to pensions, land settlement, and other matters affecting soldiers were discussed, and committees were appointed with the duty of further examination and report. To improve the organization and to centralize operations, an office was established at Ottawa with a general secretary in charge.

The first secretary was Mr. N. F. R. Knight, who had fought in the war as a sergeant in the Gordon Highlanders. Mr. Knight, who has just resigned owing to ill health, was a very fortunate choice. He had had considerable experience in the labor movement in the United States and elsewhere; he possessed a wide knowledge of social and industrial problems; and he was an effective platform speaker. He soon made his office recognized as a clearing house for the dealings of returned soldiers and soldiers' dependents with the Government departments, and was able to find time to address many meetings of local associations throughout Canada with resulting success in the improvement of the organization and extension of its membership. The multitude of grievances and troubles which a huge army and its dependents can accumulate is almost unbelievable, and from the start the Association's central office was inundated with work. But it has had the satisfaction of being able to win many battles for justice against incompetent officials and callous boards. Its daily correspondence is enormous, and the variety of the correspondents and of their claims is amazing. The Association now numbers over forty thousand members, and to secure a certain devolution provincial executives have been established as a halfway house between the local bodies and the national executive. Last autumn, the national executive decided to establish a monthly paper of their own to voice their views and assist in the solution of their problems. The *Veteran,* published at Ottawa, has now a circulation of over fifty thousand, and though it makes a special appeal to the men who have served in the army, it also endeavors to serve the widest interests of the whole community as an independent organ of criticism and ideas. The Provincial Associations of Alberta and British Columbia also publish vigorous weeklies recording their activities. Most of the branches, which now number over one hundred, possess comfortable clubrooms where business meetings and social gatherings take place at regular intervals.

What will be the future of this interesting organization? So far it has pursued a policy of avoidance of all partisan politics, and has resisted the numerous attempts by official party organizers to secure its alliance. Although the soldiers' vote, both from the G. W. V. A. and from the men overseas, in the election last December was almost unanimously cast in favor of the Unionist candidates on the issue of conscription to secure men for the front, the veterans' criticisms of Sir Robert Borden and his colleagues have been both outspoken and numerous, and had Laurier accepted conscription, he would have secured the majority of their votes. A certain element in the Association were anxious to enter politics with independent candidates, but the official decision of the executive was against this step. However, in two semi-urban constituencies in Ontario a soldiers' candidate took the field against the official party nominees and gave the victorious Unionist a close contest. Veterans' candidates have appeared at municipal and legislative bye-elections, and existing party organizations are keenly sensible to the superior attractions of candidates who have served overseas. There are already at least twelve members in the Canadian House with overseas service to their credit. Whether the Great War Veterans Association will ever be wise to enter politics as a special political party is open to grave doubt. A political civil war between all who have been overseas and those who have stayed at home would not conduce to the betterment of Canadian public life. But it is obvious that the organization can command extensive political power for the next three decades. The vote of the returning army will eventually number almost half a million, and when their female dependents, who now have the suffrage, are added to duplicate it, the extent of their political weight in an electorate now under two and a half millions can be judged. Certain political and financial interests are already keenly apprehensive of the future power and possible results of the Veterans' movement and have given considerable help and encouragement to the growth of a rival body, the Army

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and Navy Veterans, under the ancient principle of *divide et impera*. Small schismatic factions will arise in various localities, but the Great War Veterans Association has succeeded in attaching to itself all but a bare minority of the returning soldiers.

Before the war Canada was politically backward and deficient in modern economic ideas owing to her intense absorption in the problems of material development and physical expansion. Her citizens had little time or need to study political questions or economic theories; she was enjoying a prodigious, if somewhat fictitious, boom, and in such an atmosphere neither reforms nor efficient governance are popular. As a result, she was almost unaffected by the radical waves which swept over both Britain and the United States from 1902 onwards, though the outbreak of war found her suffering from a deflation of the boom and faced with new and difficult economic problems. In the intervening years the Canadian army has passed through a stern school of experience; its members have mingled with the citizens of many other communities and have realized that their own Dominion is far from the last word in civilization. Most of the men have never had so much spare time before or so few ways of filling that spare time. Many thousand Canadian soldiers—and the same fact will apply to the other armies as well—are now thinking who probably never troubled and never had the chance to think before. And what they think, if revealed, would surprise the large class of people who cherish the fond belief that an army does nothing but eat, dig, fight, and die.

The natural cleavages which divide human beings will probably always be visible, but on economic matters the temper of the majority of the Veterans is likely to be strongly radical. They will demand drastic taxation of the rich, the breaking up of the many monopolies of land and other natural resources which retard the development of Canada, and the abolition of numerous special privileges. Since 1914 all the youth of the British Commonwealth and now of America have been told either officially by the Government or by patriotic voices that their lives do not belong to them, but are at the disposal of the state. When they return to civilian life, they will assuredly claim that the same doctrine be applied to that less precious thing, property. If they propose and demand reforms and are told that their proposals are revolutionary, destructive of financial credit and subversive of the existing order, they will retort that at any rate their schemes cannot be more revolutionary in their effects than the war, and that they must be less expensive in the end. Let the experiment be tried, they will argue, as many experiments have been tried with the lives of whole divisions since 1914, and, if it fails, some other scheme can be attempted. But the old conservative jeremiads of woes to come from radical changes will leave the returning soldier very, very cold. He is unlikely to be an ardent free trader or internationalist as far as the Central Empires are concerned, nor will he be prone to show much enthusiasm for his Russian brethren. But he is not likely to favor any aggressive political or tariff nationalism directed against the countries whose soldiers' blood has flowed beside his own, and he is even less likely to join in the mocking criticisms of comfortable armchair patriots at the League of Nations as a vain dream of foolish idealists. He knows what a foul and terrible thing the actuality of war is, and any scheme which can offer a remote chance of its abolition will secure his ready support.

At one time it looked, when the United States was a cold neutral, as if the returning Canadian army would reinforce and perpetuate that strong prejudice against her southern neighbor, inherited from the United Empire Loyalists, which has been a recurring and dominant factor in Canadian politics for a hundred years, but that grievous possibility was washed away in April, 1917, and now the brotherhood of arms achieved in the fields of France has wrought between the two great democracies of North America a new bond which makes the bickerings of the past and the ravings of the reciprocity campaign of 1911 seem a bad dream. Canadian Liberals, who have long been the party favoring closer relations with the United States, have seen their worst handicap removed.

The army, among other things, is a splendid school for training in judgment of character. The men in the ranks are relentless, if fairminded, critics of their superiors, and deficiencies of heart or head do not long escape detection. They have the keenest of noses for cant or humbug, and are likely to display stern impatience towards the old type of party politician, who has composed the bulk of both Canadian parties since Confederation. They will assuredly penetrate his "loyalty" orations and despise his shifty compromises. Canada and her politicians have no more critical audience than her army, which takes a deep interest in political and other developments. In the meetings of their local associations and general conventions the returned men discuss questions like land settlement, the alien problem, and other matters, with intelligence and moderation, and their resolutions and decisions have already played some part in shaping governmental policy.

But any plan of the Veterans as a body to reform the Liberal or Conservative parties from within would be futile. It would result not in the regeneration of either party, but in the corruption of the veterans. As long as the two-party system flourished in full vigor, the position of the mass of the returning army, who are progressives but not revolutionaries, would have been difficult. The better elements among them are anxious to continue in civilian life the idealism which took them to the trenches, and to lend their support to all sane and progressive reforms. Any idea of securing an effective vehicle of political action has been hitherto largely contingent on the passing of the old two-party system in favor of minority groups powerful enough to end the specious bi-partisan rivalry of the past. The Union Government formed last fall did more than pass conscription—it seems already to have left the two old parties *in articulo mortis*. From their ruins are emerging distinct sectional parties, a French-Canadian group, an Ontario Tory protectionist group, and a Western radical group. The Labor forces in Canada have healed the worst of their schisms and are actively engaged in the organization of a national Labor party, while the emergence of a definite agrarian partisan organization, which will absorb most of the Western radicals and also have a strong footing in rural Ontario is also an imminent possibility. Many veterans are likely to find a congenial home, according to the circumstances of their residence and calling, in one of these two latter groups, who will agitate on behalf of a definite class programme and will try to control enough votes in Parliament to secure their ends of coalition with other groups; on many issues they would form an alliance. The veterans might find themselves strong enough to add another to these groups and nominate their own representatives.

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The two-party system in Canada was fundamentally an instrument devised by a powerful class of privileged beneficiaries to perpetuate their power. By fastening the attention of the voters upon a number of false issues, which the racial and religious divisions of Canada make readily available, and by inciting them skilfully to take part in a series of sham battles, the two-party system has prevented real issues from developing and has postponed the advent of any political warfare which might be serious and dangerous to vested interests. Upon this torpid state of affairs the returning army, in conjunction with economic circumstances, are inevitably destined to force far-reaching changes. The returned soldier is altogether likely to invigorate and renovate the old civilian framework of the political and economic structure with an element of the dare-devil dash of war. The Great War Veterans Association of Canada, if it follows the ideals which it has set before itself, will diligently eschew the unfortunate path which the Grand Army of the Republic took in politics, but will seek to provide a medium of activity for a large body of Canadian citizens who, while keeping the fine democratic faith which took them overseas, have lost many of their illusions and desire democratic politics in their country to be something more than a mere struggle for office among individuals and cliques. The finer spirits among the veterans are firmly imbued with the idea that the only monument worthy of their dead comrades is a cleaner and better Canada, and their part will be to demand and insist upon a cleaner and more efficient system of government, a more intelligent and public-spirited attitude towards public affairs, a new type of representative in Parliament, and above all a gradual reorganization of Canadian society for mutual service and happiness rather than for individual aggrandizement and profiteering dividends.

The Fourth of July Oration

By FREDERICK TUPPER

"THE Glorious Fourth," "Grand Festival Jubilee," "Olympiad of Freedom," on which the hearts of our renowned, revered, and ever rhythmical fathers exult and rejoice and beat high in perfect unison with the joys of general festivity and in the perfect triad of the polished period, has been followed in very recent succession, first by the "Barbarous Fourth," season of noisy display and fiery carnage, then by the "Safe and Sane Fourth," next by the "Vacant Fourth." Shall we now perhaps find it suddenly magnified to an "International Fourth"?

Where now are the "tasteful and elegant arrangements" for kindling the flame or watering the tree or rocking the cradle or sounding the trump of Liberty? Where, too, the explosive patriotism of cracker and bomb and torpedo and rocket and pistol, carrying everywhere not only din and discomfort, but danger and death, and annually exhibiting, in a toll of maimed and slain far exceeding that of Bunker Hill and Bennington, "the admirable propriety of Americans in taking vengeance on their own people in the nineteenth century for their victories over the British in the eighteenth"? But this last is only envious English comment and therefore negligible. Where, too, are the panoramas and plays and pageantry of an earlier fashion? Where the thronging of "fellow-citizens and fellow-beings" in church and town hall, to swell the congregational chanting of odes and anthems, often to the tune of what our free and uncensored early press was wont to call "the Marseilles Hymn"? And where, finally, are those magnificent memorials of the interesting occasion, the addresses and orations that attended the readings of the Declaration and interpreted its teachings to the applauding multitude? Both in manner and matter, they are of a distant bygone.

Before me is a collection of Fourth of July orations "pronounced" by Massachusetts men of note during the third decade of the last century. Professedly written, many of these, "in much haste and under the pressure of many engagements," they show in the main not too little labor, but too much. Yet in the complimentary letters calling for their publication is constant testimony to the profound attention and appreciation of audiences which delighted in the heavy-footed march of formal periods, in stock figures and time-worn classical allusions, and which doted on the very absence of the simple, direct, and specific. As Partridge said to Tom Jones of Garrick's Hamlet: "The King for my money! He speaks all his words distinctly half so loud again as the other (Hamlet). Anybody may see he is an actor." And yet there is, after all, little play-acting or pretence in the measured rotundity of these solemn products. On the contrary, elevation of thought and generosity of feeling raise the language high above pomposity. Nor is the matter mere barbecue and buncombe. Large and usually accurate knowledge of earliest American history is happily combined with a sound understanding of the principles of democratic government; and the revolutionary past is always linked with the world of contemporary thought and action. These stately old orators speak as patriots, not as partisans, "adjourning" the virulent politics of their time in phrases that recall Webster's, "On other days of the year we may be party men. But to-day we are Americans all." And if their Americanism is often chauvinistic, this self-sufficiency is natural, even laudable, as the throaty crow of the youngest people, vaunting very real achievement with a grave and confident enthusiasm which is never troubled by a doubt and which admits no saving grace of humor. If the old Fourth of July speaker displays all the ardent qualities of an intense nationalism, his view is often distorted by the limitations of his perspective. Hence he sometimes falls into a Pharisaism that arrogantly vaunts its freedom from the supposed faults of other nations. Like Walt Whitman later, he is never weary of assailing "decrepit old Europe" with its ennui and its aristocracy, its feudal shapes, its centuries, caste, heroisms, fables. In old-world institutions and forms, cults and traditions, arts and languages, he can see nothing to imitate or admire. The jingoism of the time finds wonted expression in a superficial defiance of everything foreign.

The British Lion was baited at every cross-roads. "'Lion,'" cries the young Columbian in Dickens's "Martin Chuzzlewit," "'who is he? What is he? Show him to me. Let me have him here. Here,' cried the young Columbian, idealizing the dining-table, 'upon ancestral ashes cemented with the glorious blood pouring out like water on our native

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plains of Chickabiddy Lick. Bring forth that Lion!' said the young Columbian. 'Alone I dare him! I taunt that Lion! I tell that Lion that Freedom's hand once twisted in his mane, he rolls a corse before me, and the eagles of the great Republic laugh ha, ha!' 'Well, sir,' said the secretary of the meeting, 'here is a spectacle calc'lated to make the British Lion put his tail between his legs and howl with anguish, I expect.'" Reality outstrips parody. Whenever feeling runs high against the Lion, as in the years just before 1812, tail-twisting becomes the chief oratorical feature of Independence Day. "The hand of Uncle Sam," says one of the early rhetoricians in the accurately named language of inflation, "was already to close about the prehensile extremity of the British Lion for the second convolving of that member." Nor is this the only part of the poor brute that suffers indignity: his cheek-teeth are broken, his helm is cloven. He is dared and defied not only in village forums, but from the seats of the mighty in the elemental fashion of the Norse flytings. The first oration in our volume was delivered in 1821 in Washington by not the least conspicuous member of the New England family most famous in American politics, John Quincy Adams, at this very time Secretary of State, and shortly President of the United States. Listen to his international amenities in that season of peace and good will: "Stand forth, ye champions of Britannia, ruler of the waves! Stand forth, ye chivalrous knights of chartered liberties and the rotten borough! . . . In the half-century which has elapsed since the Declaration of American Independence, what have *you* done for the benefit of mankind?" What, indeed? During that half-century England had saved the world from as awful a despotism as now threatens it—the rule of Napoleon. As a contemporary reviewer, for whose sober mind the Anglophobia of Adams was a bit too strong, coolly pointed out, Napoleon, not content with the domination of Europe, had sent a large army to Egypt and had plotted with the native chiefs of the East for the conquest of India. To thoughtful men of the day it seemed that America was not beyond the reach of his ambition. What would have happened if Britain had been sunk into the ocean? We may answer that question with another, What would happen now if the British fleet should disappear? In the very period of Adams's indictment, as in our present crisis, England had saved the world—that was all, only that and nothing more. But our American statesman, who should have known better, for he had been professor of rhetoric and oratory at Harvard, carries his sneers even into the field of arts and letters: "Enter the lists, ye boasters of inventive genius! ye mighty masters of the palette and brush! ye improvers upon the sculpture of the Elgin marbles! ye spawners of fustian romance and lascivious lyrics!" And this was the heyday of Turner and of Flaxman, of Scott and Byron and Shelley and Keats! To what purpose an exposure of yesterday's myopia, save that it induces a humble thankfulness for the to-day of clear-eyed international outlook?

In that dim yesterday, only a happy few were unblinded by the dust that rose from the stamping of jingoistic groundlings at Independence celebrations, whenever the mother country was assailed. The anonymous reviewer of 1821 kept all his senses by paying high homage to England's recent service to democracy and humanity. Edward Everett, always gracious in manners and graceful in manner, is fully aware that cordial sentiments towards England may be thought to partake of "foreign partialities," and yet this large-minded gentleman dares argue that the American citizen should acquit the obligation to the memory of his Revolutionary fathers with discretion and generosity. And the Country Parson of Portland asks in his memorable diary of a generation later (1860): "Is it right to keep an ungodly feeling, a grudge, an old quarrel, ill will against the nation from whom we came? The whole of the Fourth of July business, that is, the way and manner in which it is conducted is, I have no doubt, an abomination in the sight of God." National prejudices are so unconscionably long in dying that one feels a solemn pleasure in assisting at a post-mortem. It was no orator, pandering to the crowd, but the self-contained Emerson who boasted that Lincoln had never crossed the sea, had never been spoiled by English insularity or by French dissipation. Our impression of England was derived largely from partisan textbooks, which took small account of enlightened English sympathy with our Revolutionists; our impression of France from highly spiced yellow-backs, which ignored utterly French thrift and domesticity. And Europe, as Lowell's readable essay reminds us, repaid our taunts with a condescension that was sometimes very hard to bear. These bandyings, however, were but the surface expression of an ardent nationalism, which erred through misunderstanding, not through malice. Though a shamefaced memory of our youthful insolence abides with us, we may comfort ourselves with the reflection that this immature American sentiment was a very different thing from the arrogant nationalism which is now the world's menace. Our arch-enemy has taught us this healthy object-lesson, that ignorant contempt for everybody beyond one's borders breeds a confusion in one's sense of national values that may readily turn to raving madness.

The old Fourth of July oration died with the passing of the time-worn animosity and defiance that it fostered. With it, too, has perished the self-sufficiency of our earlier and narrower ideals. The amazing address of Adams is interesting, not only in its vehement expression of a deep-rooted popular prejudice, but in its concise and cogent summary of the long-lived national policy that opposed so-called "entangling alliances." To the national isolation of the old Fourth, the Democracy of the new Fourth, speaking from the platform, pulpit, and press, will oppose the struggle for the life of others, the altruism that is woven through all the stuff of existence, the mighty principle of international coöperation, sociability, mutual aid. The changed voice of the Day will, moreover, remind thinking folk everywhere that mutual support must derive its strength from mutual understanding, that nations are as men, and hence you must love them ere they will seem worthy of love. And the guiding Genius of 1918 will reply to the guiding Genius of 1821 in the words of President Wilson's address to the American Federation of Labor:

> Let us show ourselves Americans by showing that we do not want to go off in separate camps or groups by ourselves, but that we want to coöperate with all other classes and all other groups in a common enterprise, which is to release the spirit of the world from bondage. I would be willing to set that up as the final test of an American. That is the meaning of democracy.

The warning of the prophet, "Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn and to the hole of the pit whence ye are digged!" should be heeded by us as reverently as by our forebears; for never was it more necessary to link in thought and spirit our past with our present world than in this very hour.

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Foreign Correspondence

I. A Japanese View of World Politics

Tokio, May 8

A FEW weeks ago Dr. Shiga, a well-known teacher and writer as well as orator, presented his views of world politics in an address before the Tokio Educational Association. His address was printed in full in a magazine called *Dai San Teikoku*, "The Third Empire." Dr. Shiga has labelled his opinions "A. B. C. World Politics," not because they are elementary, but for the sake of "apt alliteration's artful aid." The translator for the *Japan Advertiser* states that, while there is nothing original except the title, Dr. Shiga's address is "significant for the reason that it is perhaps the most perspicuous expression of the world politics of America, England, and Germany as the Japanese now understand them." Dr. Shiga discusses the contributions made by Japan in the interest of the Allies, as well as the strategical importance of these Pacific islands that the Japanese navy has taken in the course of its patrol duty against the German commerce raiders. He asserts that these islands are worth so many battleships in the control of the Pacific in case of war, and affirms that peace between Japan and America must in the last resort be founded on balance of power. He further says that Japan, having hitherto had no naval bases in the Pacific, has been handicapped; but the strategical advantage of these islands now constitutes a happy balance to the advantage America has in the Hawaiian Islands and the Philippines.

Dr. Shiga then proceeds to give the credit to two men, Christopher Columbus and Cecil Rhodes, for the discovery and foresight that have contributed to the advance of the influence of the white race. He says:

> The discovery of Columbus resulted in the birth of the great republic of the United States of America, the influence of which now extends across the continent to the Pacific Ocean, which she regards as a lake of her own garden, dotted with such stepping-stones as the Hawaiian Islands, Samoa, Guam, and the Philippines. . . . In the northwest corner of this lake stands a grim rock called Japan.

He then affirms that in America there are two opinions concerning the treatment of Japan. One group of thinkers seems to favor a *laissez-faire* policy, while the other is aggressive. At the head of the latter group is Mr. Root, who, with an imperialistic programme, has favored Pan-Americanism and has also agitated for the extension of American influence to Russia and China, and is an enthusiastic advocate of the plan to construct a railway that will connect America, Alaska, and Asia. Without such a railway, the path of American influence to Asia is already paved through Guam and the Philippines; and, if the railway ever be realized, America will be in a position to stride over to the Asiatic continent by both land and sea. The movement to connect America, Alaska, and Asia will be a main current of future world politics, and may be called the Three A Policy of America.

The second current of world politics the learned writer considers the effect of the work of Cecil Rhodes, who first planned the railway across Africa from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo—a plan which has practically been carried out. Later, England enlarged that plan by the project of a railroad from Cairo to Calcutta, hoping thereby to make the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the Persian Gulf her domestic lakes. Cape-Cairo-Calcutta make the Three C Policy of England. Meanwhile Germany conceived the plan of a Berlin-Bagdad railway through Byzantium (Constantinople), and thus created what Dr. Shiga calls the Three B Policy of Germany. Since British operations in Mesopotamia have put an end to this dream, it may be suggested as an alternative that the German line of advance might conceivably be Berlin-Batum-Bombay or Berlin-Batum-Baikal.

While the coincidences of alliteration are of course only superficial, yet they portray what Dr. Shiga calls the three main currents of world politics. He concludes with the following suggestive comments on the A. B. C. Policies:

> In their conflict and coalition, they are going to dominate the world after this war. They are sure to come singly and conjointly storming the Orient. The question which side wins this war makes no difference to the pressure of the A. B. C. world politics on the East and particularly on this country. Japan is the centre on which these three forces are converging. To the eyes of the white races, Japan will appear as a monkey imitating their civilization and meddling with their game. But in the last thirty years Japan has accomplished marvellous results. . . . There are signs foreboding the birth of a new force that will check and ultimately frustrate the A. B. C. world politics of the white race.

ERNEST W. CLEMENT

II. War's Second Nature

Paris, May 1

EVERY personal experience of the war will furnish instances of the remarkable study just presented to the Paris Academy of Medicine by Dr. Dupré (April 2). War habits are forming, by their peculiar, and more or less permanent, upsetting of nervous equilibrium, that second nature which he calls "emotive constitution." Both senses and mind become excitable, irritable, morbid; and the reflex activity of the will—"motor inhibition"—becomes insufficient to control the excitement or to react against the morbid impression.

The normal example of emotive constitution is the babe at the breast with no language but a cry; the nervous child little by little habituated not to cry for every little thing; and the grown person progressively forming habits of recovering nervous balance, the woman by making occasional scenes or by furtive tears, and the man by swearing or by some other discharge of temper. The abnormal example is found at every degree of neurasthenia and hysteria in both sexes. Before the war much study had been given to lasting changes in this emotive constitution of individuals, particularly when resulting from certain infectious diseases or intoxicants or wounds where nervous commotion and emotional excitement have been intense or prolonged or repeated. War has multiplied the experience for such study.

An extreme instance is a case of desertion which was tried at a Paris court-martial in April of this year. A private soldier whose good conduct had promoted him to be a corporal, who had been honorably mentioned three times for bravery and had been decorated with the cross of war, went morally to pieces. His mother, who had great influence over him, died in the first year of the war and he rapidly became a prey to nerve shocks such as are inevitable at the fighting front. He deserted a first time, came back ashamed and repentant, and then deserted again and ended by overleaping all the moral bounds of his previous life. His case

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so struck the military tribunal that he was handed over for examination to the experienced Dr. Legrain, head of the Villejuif asylum for mental diseases. The doctor reported:

> He knew when he went to the front that, while not fatally condemned to death, he risked being hit. He is extremely vain of his fighting attitude. Often he exposed himself without the least bravado, but with so sure a feeling he would not be touched that he had no merit in seeming to be brave. This he avows frankly. At Verdun, he began wavering but mastered himself. Then, after a long bombardment by heavy artillery, one of his comrades was literally pulverized a few steps from his side. A piece of the body tossed into the air fell on his hand. He felt a horrible sensation of cold. The emotion caused in him was violent. For the first time he felt what it was to be afraid, and he said to himself that he might very easily have been in the place of his comrade. The accident had so deep an influence on his mind that it came up again and again in his sleep. He saw it all over again, and again he felt the cold chill. . . . He drew cards with a fortune-teller and the eight of spades came out, which she told him meant some bad accident. He doubted no longer—he was a man marked for death in the fighting line.

This military degradation with a prison sentence to hard labor may strengthen his comrades' minds against any such belief in fatality, and the superstition which has cropped out in this war as being still a common factor in the human make-up. William Smith, in his study of human punishment, "Thorndale—a Conflict of Opinions," sums up such repression: "You could not help it? Well, society must help you to help it."

A milder case is from an American hospital for French wounded. A flash-light photographer was given permission to operate in one of the wards. A soldier who had been severely wounded under particularly vivid shell-fire was dozing and did not grasp what was going to happen. The photographer flashed his light and the soldier leaped from his bed in a spasm of uncontrollable nerve-response. The entire sensation and excitement of his recent wounding had been repeated for him and propagated through all his nerve centres to the innermost depths of consciousness and emotion. The danger in this case was not the mere undoing of splints and bandages or the reopening of wounds, but the recurrence of nerve shocks that might result in an habitual lack of nervous balance.

The countries which are now at war have already been obliged to consider such traumatism, or nerve shock from wounds, which becomes a habit and second nature; and they have to provide for the other nerve shocks of war. It is one of the most cruel difficulties which they have to face. The United States will have plenty of these cases before war is over.

It is not a question of organic or physical lesion, as is the case with a soldier who has lost his right hand and has to be taught to use his left. It is simply an habitual lack of nervous and emotional balance which may result from other conditions of war than physical wounds, but whose results are none the less serious.

In time of peace, similar results from labor accidents or great catastrophes come up before the courts and arbitration boards in suits brought against employers or insurance companies. The lack of balance may be manifested by abnormal excitability or by mere inability to pull oneself together and begin life and work over again. This is not covered by the very necessary and urgent war aid for "the reëducation of the wounded and crippled." Yet even that will be scarcely more important than the reëducation of the will in those whose war shocks have ended by emotionalizing them constitutionally.

Unless something can be done for such as these, they risk being left a burden on the community quite as much as if they had been maimed in body. Scientifically, their reflex and voluntary motor inhibition has become insufficient. Popularly, they have become permanently weakened in the struggle for life. And this will have to be considered by the countries at war, if not as in the case of the wounded for indemnities and pensions, at least for the sake of recuperating useful citizens.

Curious counter-instances in the case of soldiers and civilians whom habit has inured to explosions show what may be done for emotive reconstitution. In recent air raids over Paris, veteran soldiers on leave often refused to get up from their beds and go to cellars or other indicated shelters. "What! I have not slept in a bed for months and you want me to get up for such a trifle? Oh, no!" Conversely, soldiers just back from the trenches when overtaken in the streets by an alarm were often among the first to go to the shelters. "Orders under bombardment," they said, and to the shelters they went.

These are cases of senses and minds sticking to habits of nerve equilibrium under changed conditions. Dr. Dupré observes of such well-balanced nerves in general: "They have been accustomed gradually to a whole series of emotions in which the repetition of nerve shocks has conferred remarkable emotive immunity." This is only a scientific way of expressing the popular idea of a veteran soldier's state of nerves and mind.

The need of reconstituting such balance occurs in cases, with or without actual wounds, in which the nerve shocks have been so severe and the unbalancing hardships so long continued that they have ended by exhausting all nervous force of reaction. Examples of this, in somewhat startling form, are not uncommon occurrences in our Paris war hospitals. Sometimes it is the sense of hearing, sometimes the memory or understanding of speech, sometimes even the sense of sight, whose operation is weakened or suspended completely without any discoverable physical lesion. Sometimes patient observation and experiment have found a remedy, but it must be acknowledged that most recoveries finally make themselves known on occasion of some new nerve shock from ordinary life. These war victims, just as they have been shocked into their unbalanced second nature, seem to need to be shocked back to their healthy first nature.

Cases less severe in form, infinitely varying in degree and common to civilians as well as soldiers under all sorts and conditions of nerve shock, are sure to be prevalent after the war, as indeed they are already. They constitute a far greater, if less striking, danger to the community at large. They extend all the way down to the unfitting of hundreds of thousands of soldiers for immediate resumption of the effort of civil life—an unfitness attributable to war habits of acting collectively, under orders, without thought for the morrow beyond their military duty.

> Why, boys, why
> Should we be melancholy, boys,
> Whose business 'tis to die?

So Wolfe sang, floating down the St. Lawrence with his men before the last fight. M. Isaacs, the experienced president of the Chamber of Commerce of Lyons, says of his own years after the war of 1870: "It was a long while before we got back to work!"

STODDARD DEWEY

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The Nebraska Decision

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The Regents' trial of professors of the University of Nebraska accused by an authorized State body of failure in public duty brings to the fore one of the most delicate and difficult of the problems which democracies face. The question which has been most commonly raised, where college officers were under charges, has been that of "academic freedom"—viewed as the privilege of expressing opinions distasteful to the public. The issue in Nebraska resolved itself into that of academic responsibility—viewed as the duty of college professors to voice sentiments felt by the public. In the Nebraska trial the implied charge of seditious and treasonable utterances was speedily dropped (for utter lack of evidence) by the prosecution, and in its place was pushed the charge of "negative, halting, or hesitating conduct in the support of the war"—virtually, of failure in the public duty of expression. How this was urged may be illustrated by an incident of the trial:

Question: Have you ever at any time in your classes presented your country's cause for being in the war?
Answer: Never. I teach mathematics.

Yet, largely on the basis of this answer, the prosecution demanded the dismissal of the professor, arguing that no "red-blooded, one hundred per cent." American could teach any subject for months after war was declared without addressing his students on their duties. The same point of view has been urged by the public: no professor, who was performing his duty, could even be subject of suspicion; his utterances must make his stand clear to all men, and there must be such utterances. The college teacher should be a leader in the community, say press and public—meaning that the college teacher must voice public sentiment.

The problem which is here raised is but a new extension of one which, in other walks, democracy has long faced. It has given to the politician his peculiar character and reputation. "The politician," says a friend of mine—I cannot forbear the quotation—"must be an extraordinary being. He must stand aloft, like Liberty enlightening the world, on the highest watch-tower, and yet keep his ear to the ground. Imagine the ear!" The agitation for recall of judges, in recent years, applies the same type of standard to the judiciary; the judge, to be secure of his position, must satisfy not only justice and the law, but also the popular conception of these. In a State university every instructor is a public official; and it was doubtless only a matter of occasion when the test of public approbation should be applied to the tenure of the professorial office.

It is unlikely that such an issue would have arisen in a privately endowed institution. There the question agitated has been one of academic freedom, and the quiet professor has been the safe one. Further, it has usually been only men in the social subjects—economics, history, philosophy, politics—who have found peril in utterance. Now the problem is changed: responsibility is the issue, and the mathematician is in no better case than is the economist.

This new conception of its duties will profoundly affect the status of the profession of college teaching—and almost certainly to its eventual benefit. The professor will come to be looked upon not as a pensioner of society, but as a citizen; his position will be no longer regarded as a sinecure for the socially incompetent, but as demanding abilities and as attended by risks, just as business and politics have their risks. No doubt this will affect the apparent attractiveness of the teaching profession, to which security of tenure has certainly contributed. But eventually this will be compensated by increase in the direct returns, in the salaries paid. Modern society cannot thrive without the powers which university training and methods develop; and if a democratic society is to demand from the professor a further responsibility than that of his specialty or his classroom, it will itself have to respond with financial recognition. The demand must affect both parties—with the certainty that the professorate, accepting public responsibility, will ask and receive direct compensation commensurate with the abilities and preparation called for.

Nor need it be anticipated that the interests of truth will be hurt. The seclusion of the scholar and the truth-seeker is but a sequent of the cloister's tradition. In his labors of investigation the scholar must, to be sure, have quiet and the privilege of silence. But no man is merely an investigator; he must be a citizen as well, certainly in any society which can afford the leisure for scholarship; and it would be the most dismal of faiths in democracy which could expect that a society whose whole salvation is the public quest of the truth could, more than another, hamper the forms and special pursuits of truth-seeking. A certain and hitherto unaccustomed peril is indeed likely to attend the future of the academic profession—the peril of misunderstanding, the peril of error; but assuredly far more will be gained, in the dignity and abilities of those who undertake the profession in the full consciousness of its perils, than can possibly come from a mean clinging to unworthy and undemocratical safeties.

H. B. ALEXANDER

University of Nebraska, June 24

[After a week's consideration the Regents of the University of Nebraska made public, on June 19, their decision in the case of the group of professors charged with backwardness in support of the Government. The decision begins by pointing out the notable services of the University, as an institution, to the national cause—"the chancellor of the University, one of its deans, many of its professors and instructors, and more than 1,500 of its students and alumni" being now in the service of the United States; and by congratulating institution and State upon the fact that "not a student was found [in the course of the investigation] who had received from any teacher in any classroom or private conversation" an impression of disloyalty, and that the prosecution itself, in the course of the trial, freely granted that there was "no basis for the charge of intentional disloyalty against any University employee." Proceeding, it is next noted that the charges against Professors J. P. Senning, Andrew D. Schrag, Mary Fossler, E. L. Hinman, A. E. Sheldon, and Alumni Secretary Annis Chaikin had been dropped, with the prosecution's consent, because of "complete absence of any evidence whatever against them," while the case of Professor Riddervold had been continued pending the return from Europe of the letter upon which the charge against him had been based. In the case of Professor Erwin Hopt the Board finds that his conscientious objection to aiding the belligerent activities of the Government "is not of such a nature as would exempt him from service upon direct demand of the Government," and that he cannot be held irresponsible. Of the eight

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other accused professors, namely, H. W. Caldwell, L. B. Tuckerman, P. H. Grummann, Henry Blumberg, L. E. Aylsworth, H. K. Wolfe, C. E. Persinger, and G. W. A. Luckey, the Regents find that "while they were somewhat behind many of their colleagues in recognition of the necessity of the entrance of the United States into the present war, yet that none of them can be fairly found under the evidence to be at the present time behaving in a negative, halting, or hesitating manner in the support of the Government," and "without exception they have fully responded to every call made for personal effort, time, or money within their means for the aid and support of the Government in its present struggle." Nevertheless, in the cases of Professors Persinger and Luckey, the Board finds that "their position and public utterances at the time of and following America's entry into the war were indiscreet and of such a nature as to involve themselves and the University in public criticism," destroying their usefulness to the institution. The Regents accordingly ask for the resignations of Professors Hopt, Persinger, and Luckey, holding the others exonerated from blame. In a further paragraph they call for explanations from two members of the faculty for "the spreading of unfounded suspicions" of the loyalty of colleagues, intimating that unless the explanations are satisfactory their resignations will be called for.—EDITOR.]

Glories

By NELSON ANTRIM CRAWFORD

THROUGH the half open door,
Over the gray sidewalk,
In front of the many-spired Russian Cathedral—
Alien of aliens, here in the Occident—
Sweeps music,
Bitter, plaintive,
Yearning, turbulent,
Splashing purple, red, blue, gold,
Over the white sidewalk:
Vari-colored glory of the East
On the gray glory of the West.

Through the half open door,
Over the gray sidewalk,
Drifts incense smoke,
Curling in lavender spirals,
Now soft, now heavy,
Scented with a far, foreign odor,
Mingled with hesitating lilac fragrance
From the bush on the green parking:
Mystic glory of the East
With the simple glory of the West.

Through the door, opened wide,
On to the white sidewalk,
Pour the worshippers—
Aliens of aliens, here in the Occident—
With far-looking eyes,
With far-seeking faces,
With far-born turbulent tongues,
Jostling the kindly, contented, practical,
Conventional-voiced passers-by:
To-morrow's glory of the East,
Jostling to-day's glory of the West.

Correspondence

International Prizes

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The award of the first Loubat prize raises the thought that it would be well if some society of national fame like one of the Carnegie foundations should make a point of publishing in advance all open prizes in the United States, open in the sense of being open to competition, and awarded to productions in all fields, whether mechanical invention, architecture, art, music, literature, natural sciences, historical sciences, or what not. Many persons hear of prizes only on publication of the award. DUNCAN SAVAGE

New York, June 23

Patriotic Ignorance

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: To one who is no German and knows but little of the German tongue—being a plain, old-fashioned A.B., who learned a little Latin, a little Greek, less mathematics, and not much else before 1875—the move to exclude its study from our schools seems at once impolitic and unpatriotic.

The need of a knowledge of both the written and the spoken language by our young people will be imperative whether we are to wage this present war for years to come, or a new one not many years hence, or a commercial war, or whether, after a nominal peace, we are to have a real peace. How else shall we of all sorts and conditions know what the Germans teach in books and pamphlets, sermons and lectures, newspapers and magazines?

Our leaders in state affairs may know full well their teachings, but they will keep this knowledge to themselves. Secret statecraft and secret diplomacy forbid trusting the people of this republic. Only a widespread knowledge of the forbidden tongue will protect us from secret diplomacy. The exclusion of German from the curriculum of our secondary schools is a blow aimed straight at democracy. Put this proposed exclusion into force and those who will be our business men and women after this war must compete with a commercial rival of whose language they will be ignorant, while he will have a perfect mastery of theirs. How necessary, then, that his language be taught now and taught effectively to every student who is at all likely to enter upon a commercial life, if our trade is to be protected and advanced. Call it war or call it competition, the struggle for trade will go on, and by carrying into effect this new policy of our school authorities we shall be working for the interests of our foe, not of our own country. Bar German from the courses in the high schools, and how many who cannot afford the luxury of a private school will be kept from entering the best of our medical and scientific schools? Is this democratic?

I must study and use German in Poland. I must not study and use German in the United States. German only in Poland; English only in the United States. What difference in spirit between the advocate of the one and of the other? Neither is American, nor is either patriotic or democratic.

L. S. TILTON

Washington, June 11

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Groping for Light

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your article on Russia in the *Nation* of June 22 is good. When you speak of Russia as groping its way to light and safety, you quote Maeterlinck, who called Russia *un monde héroïque à la recherche de la lumière.* (See the Brussels periodical *Le Petit Bleu* of January 22, 1907.)

JOSEPH DE PEROTT

Clark University, June 22

Morley's Liberalism

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the turmoil of current happenings, when so many time-honored and well-seasoned principles are being discarded by the thoughtless, may we not study carefully the following notion of Liberalism, a view which is still being kept constantly in mind these warring years by (among others) the *Evening Post*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and (let us add) the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and the *Berliner Tageblatt*. I quote this very apt definition of Liberalism from "Recollections" by Viscount Morley—"a positivist who loves Plato," according to a writer in the current *Unpopular Review*. In Morley's opinion, Liberalism

> stands for pursuit of social good against class interest or dynastic interest. It stands for the subjection to human judgment of all claims of external authority, whether in an organized church, or in more loosely gathered societies of believers, or in books held sacred. In law-making it does not neglect the higher characteristics of human nature; it attends to them first. In executive administration, though judge, jailer, and perhaps the hangman will be indispensable, still mercy is counted a wise supplement to terror. Gen. Gordon spoke a noble word for Liberalist ideas when he upheld the sovereign duty of trying to creep under men's skins—only another way of putting the Golden Rule.

HERMAN B. TANNER

New York, May 12

Aviation in "Rasselas"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It may be of interest to those who have read "Rasselas" to be reminded, and to those who have not to be informed, that just one hundred and fifty years ago Dr. Johnson was evidently giving the problem of aviation some attention. In Chapter VI the philosopher expatiates at considerable length on the pleasure that a man like himself would derive from an equipment of wings which would enable him to hover in the sky, "to see the earth and all its inhabitants rolling beneath him and presenting to him successively, by its diurnal motion all the countries within the same parallel." The Prince gives the artist a year within which to perfect his invention, but it proves a failure. Although his wings were of no use in the air, they sustained him in the water into which he fell and thus saved his life. The artist, however, foresaw the harm that might come from his invention, if it came into general use. If all men were virtuous, he would gladly teach them all to fly.

> But what would be the security of the good if the bad could at pleasure invade them from the sky? Against an army sailing through the clouds, neither walls, nor mountains, nor seas could afford them security. A flight of northern savages might hover in the wind and light at once, with irresistible violence, upon the capital of a fruitful region that was rolling under them.

Eventually the northern savages came and fulfilled in part, at least, the philosopher's prediction.

CHARLES W. SUPER

Athens, O., June 17

Greetings from Prison

TO ALL OUR FRIENDS:

At noon to-day we entered the city jail of Los Angeles to begin serving our sentence in expiation of our "crimes." From our prison cells we send affectionate greetings to all our friends throughout the country.

Our appeal from the sentence of Judge White was heard in the Superior Court on March 5th by Judge Craig, who, after taking the matter under advisement for some time, has now affirmed the decision of the lower court. It is significant that after taking fifty-six days to examine the voluminous record, Judge Craig, though affirming the former verdict, rendered no opinion whatever in the case.

Our application for a writ of review to the Court of Appeals was denied to-day. It now remains to lay the case before the Supreme Court of the United States, that it may determine whether religious freedom, freedom of speech, and peaceable assemblage can be denied to the people.

We, the defendants, would indeed hesitate to advise such final action, were there involved merely the question of our own personal freedom and comfort. But high issues are at stake which concern the welfare of all men. These great issues we would see vindicated at all costs. Therefore, we most earnestly call upon all lovers of freedom to render such financial assistance as will make possible an immediate appeal to the United States Supreme Court of this case, which involves unique and fundamental constitutional issues, and which has no parallel in the annals of jurisprudence.

We do not pose as martyrs. We are common men, to whom has come the high honor and privilege of paying with our bodies for our soul's desire. Somehow it has been granted unto us to speak out the unconquerable "No." We may have spoken it with faltering lips and in great weakness. But we cannot recall the past. The present is still with us, and we declare we cannot do otherwise.

We hold no illusions as to the comfort of jail life. All of us have previously been confined in the vile den which for many months to come may be our home. We know the unspeakable conditions of filth and disease which obtain there, and the enervating and dispiriting effects of long confinement. We are not primarily propagandists, but men of peace, who love the quietness of study and the comforts of home life. Not easily do we leave our families and friends behind us to face the grim problems of existence alone. To their fine courage we pay the highest tribute of respect and love. We pray the protection of God upon them, and the benediction of peace upon all suffering men and women.

While in jail we should greatly enjoy hearing from our friends. Letters may be addressed to us in care of our attorney, J. H. Ryckman, 920 Higgins Building, Los Angeles, to whom contributions for our defence may be sent.

ROBERT WHITAKER
FLOYD HARDIN
HAROLD STORY

Los Angeles City Jail, May 7

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BOOKS

Understanding Russia

Russian Realities and Problems. By Paul Milyukov, Peter Struve, A. Lappo-Danilevsky, Roman Dmovsky, and Harold Williams. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.50 net.

THE impression that is left after reading this compact little book is one of regret that it does not contain authoritative papers on other vital Russian problems, in which case it might be a veritable encyclopædia on the subject. One wonders, for instance, why the land question or the labor movement is not included among "Russian realities and problems," alongside a subject of such transient value as "The War and Balkan Politics," by Prof. Paul Milyukov. To be sure, Mr. Milyukov, who has been a close student of the Balkan question for a quarter of a century, lends to the discussion of the topic a tremendous interest, regardless of its connection with Russia proper. His lecture is a polite arraignment of the old policy of "balance of power" and of the ever-too-late diplomatists of the Entente.

Professor Milyukov's second article, though appearing to treat a contemporary institution, threatens to become history, for it deals with a thing of the recent past—the Duma. Than Milyukov there is no person more competent to discuss this topic; but the editor of the volume errs in stating that Milyukov has been prominent in the Duma "ever since it was called into existence in October, 1905." The Government of Witte, and later that of Stolypin, succeeded in eliminating the name of Milyukov from the list of eligible candidates for the first and second Dumas. Only in 1907 he entered the third, "revised," Duma, where he was the member of all most hated and most listened to. Under Milyukov's leadership, at first unofficial, and later universally acknowledged, the Cadets endeavored to keep the Duma safe between the Scylla of revolutionary outbursts on the part of the Left and the Charybdis of provocative onslaughts from the extreme Right, whose absolutistic tendencies were openly encouraged by the Government. Were these endeavors worth while? In this lecture Milyukov says:

> The Duma has lived on. But the first, the "heroic" age of its life, was really at an end. Thenceforward the Duma was to live in obscurity. After a few months of meteoric splendor there followed long years of very modest existence. I should call the second age of the Duma's life that of political mimicry. The Duma, with its changed composition, tried to adapt itself to its political environment. The new majority renounced bold schemes for the general reform of Russia and devoted themselves to the rather ungrateful task of self-preservation.

One must agree with Professor Milyukov that in spite of its legislative impotence the Duma served as a medium for the political education of the people, but with its propaganda mission fulfilled, the Duma has become useless.

Russian economic conditions are discussed by another Cadet, Peter Struve, editor of an influential monthly, *Russkaya Mysl.* Mr. Struve's career presents a curious page in the evolution of the Intelligentsia. In the nineties he was one of the most ardent Marxians; about 1899 he composed the manifesto of the Social Democratic party, which was accepted and endorsed by the party and by such of its leaders as Plekhanov and Lenine. In the years immediately preceding the revolution of 1905 he edited in Stuttgart an "illegal" Russian periodical, *Osvobozhdeniye,* the organ of the Liberal Zemstvoists. He was elected to the second Duma on the Cadet ticket and typified the group which the members of the Left called "His Majesty's Opposition." The quondam Marxian is now a nationalist and an imperialist, and he regards the capitalistic order as a progressive and civilizing factor. Mr. Struve opposes the view that Russians have "no aptitude for the bourgeois life and conduct of Western peoples." With pride and glee he points out certain commercial and capitalistic traits in the Russian nature, and triumphantly declares that the peasant of northern Central Russia is "a trader and industrialist to his finger tips." The validity of the last "proof" is doubtful. The north-central peasants have engaged in petty industry and trade, not because of their "aptitude" for civilizing capitalism, but by reason of the utter exhaustion of their soil; no matter how successful the peasant may be in his commercial or industrial pursuit, he suffers everlastingly from nostalgia for "mother-earth," and goes back to agriculture as soon as circumstances permit him to do so. Communal land ownership and the inherent lack of the sense of private property among the peasantry are to Mr. Struve backward, "mediæval" traits, and he hopes to see their disappearance with the growth of small land tenure, of "independent and rounded off individual holdings." Mr. Struve's agrarian views will find few adherents in present-day Russia.

Another exponent of middle-class philosophy is Roman Dmowsky, who writes on Poland. In the Imperial Duma Mr. Dmowsky was the leader of the Polish *Kolo,* the group that consistently flirted with the party in power. Mr. Dmowsky is primarily concerned with the well-being of the Polish middle class, and he indicates with pride its growing strength and successful competition with non-Polish merchants and manufacturers. The disgraceful baiting of Jews and the economic boycott directed against them by the Polish middle class Mr. Dmowsky defines euphemistically as "a national struggle," which is "partly a manifestation of the economic energy of the Polish middle class, and partly of the tendency of the whole community to strengthen the Polish element in the town populations." Mr. Dmowsky did not mention before the Cambridge audience that one of the chief reasons for the boycott of the Jews was the refusal of the Warsaw Jews to vote for Mr. Dmowsky's candidate for the Duma, because he was an outspoken Jew hater.

While the authoritativeness of Messrs. Milyukov, Struve, and Dmowsky is necessarily narrowed to some extent by the reason of their class and party allegiances, the absolute value of the statements of the remaining two authors, Harold Williams and A. Lappo-Danilevsky, is beyond any doubt. Mr. Williams is one of the few Englishmen whose intimate knowledge of Russia has not dimmed the clarity of outlook and the perspective enjoyed by outside observers. Of course, we have in mind Mr. Williams, the author of "Russia of the Russians," rather than Mr. Williams, the correspondent of the *Times.* His lecture on Russian nationalities is both informative and artistic, rich in material and surcharged with pathos of sympathy and understanding for that complex body politic known until recently as Russia. In instructiveness Mr. Williams's paper yields only to that of Professor Lappo-Danilevsky, whose review of "The Development of Science and Learning in Russia" is truly a gigantic achievement. Not even in Russian can be found such a comprehensive essay on every phase of Russia's intellectual development.

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Fruits, Preserves, and Gardens

The Peaches of New York. By U. P. Hedrick. New York Agricultural Experiment Station.

The Strawberry in North America. By S. W. Fletcher. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.50.

Successful Canning and Preserving. By Ola Powell. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $2 net.

The Backyard Garden. By Edward I. Farrington. Chicago: Laird & Lee. $1.

War Gardens. By Montague Free. New York: Harper & Bros. 50 cents net.

Practical Gardening. By Hugh Findlay. New York: D. Appleton & Co. $2 net.

Around the Year in the Garden. By Frederick Frye Rockwell. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.75.

'PEACH-GROWING is gambling pure and simple." Winter-killing takes place about one year out of four. Frosts destroy the blossoms; diseases, like the "yellows," against which there has been a hundred years' war, kill the trees; fortunes made one year are swept away the next by a glut in the market, and so on; but "gambling is a universal vice," and so the habit of raising peaches on a commercial scale is fortunately perpetuated. New varieties are bred, and one of the best results of all this is a huge volume by U. P. Hedrick entitled "The Peaches of New York," but in reality covering all the varieties grown in North America. This volume of 541 pages is Part II of Vol. 2 of the twenty-fourth annual report of the Department of Agriculture, State of New York. It is gorgeously illustrated with nearly a hundred full-page pictures of as many important varieties, each of which is fully described, botanically and gastronomically. Minor varieties are more briefly disposed of, but there are so many of them that it takes 208 pages to do this. The author is optimistic in calling the Elberta "good"; but the Morris White certainly deserved its "very good." The luscious Muir is, unfortunately, excluded from our markets because it is ugly to the eye. Mr. Hedrick provides a complete history of the peach and makes it clear that its original home was not Persia, but China. It is pleasant to read that this fruit, which differs from other fruits in that it does not cloy the appetite, is more at home in North America than anywhere on the globe except China. Darwin, with many others, was mistaken in tracing its descent from the almond. Its evolution is far from completed. Biographic sketches are given of the men who in the past have done most for its improvement. Among the developments of the near future is the promise of peaches which, ripening in September, can be kept, in tissue paper, till February. That we ourselves are improving with the peaches is indicated by the author's assertion, in speaking of peach brandy, that fruit-growing, including peach-growing, in America, "had its beginning and for almost two hundred years had its whole sustenance in the demand for strong drink."

To-day peach brandy, though still made, consumes but a tiny fraction of the output. We are the greatest peach eaters in the world; also the greatest strawberry eaters. The value of all the strawberries marketed in North America, apart from those grown for home use, exceeds $20,000,000 a year, which is more than half of the world's strawberry culture. Professor Fletcher, of the Pennsylvania State College, most entertainingly describes the rise of the commercial strawberry cult. Ours was from the start a land of wild strawberries which were four times as large as the English and far more exquisitely flavored. The Indians had their own "shortcake." The author tells how the season of the cultivated berry was gradually extended from four weeks to six months. He describes the successive sway of different favorites; dwells on color preferences, and warns the reader that redness is by no means the same thing as ripeness. Are wild berries sweeter than the best of the cultivated? is another point discussed. Professor Fletcher is, unfortunately, right in his contention that the "quality" of strawberries—a combination of flavor, texture, and aroma—does not now average as high as it did in 1854. It has been sacrificed to productiveness and firmness. The same is true in regard to peaches and grapes. The consumer is ground between the producer and the grocer.

The canner, to a certain degree, comes to the consumer's rescue. To be sure, canned fruits are never quite so good as the fresh; but we can have them all the year round. Professor Fletcher points out the kinds of strawberries best suited for the cannery. Ola Powell's book is entirely devoted to the problems of successful canning and preserving of fruits and also of vegetables. The history of scientific canning precedes chapters on canning in tin and in glass; on processing; on marmalades, jams, and conserves; on pickling; on drying fruits, vegetables, and herbs; on the preservation of meats; on canning clubs, and the business side of canning. The author belongs to the United States Department of Agriculture. Her information is thoroughly up-to-date, and her book, with its 168 illustrations, is probably the most complete and helpful treatise on its subject in existence; particularly timely just now when home canning has become a form of patriotic service to help out the food shortage.

Like most other books, those on gardening are being more and more influenced by the slogan "war gardens for victory." Edward I. Farrington's "The Backyard Garden" and Montague Free's "War Gardens" are specially intended for those who in response to the demand for food multiplication have decided to start gardens of their own this summer. The two are similar in scope and execution, containing brief but lucid pages on the cultivation of the most important vegetables and also on some that ought to become more popular for the sake of variety, now that meats are scarce. Tools and fertilizers are discussed, besides weeds, insect enemies, diseases, harvesting and storing, irrigation, etc. Both these books can be carried in the pocket for convenient reference, and Mr. Farrington's has a waterproof binding.

Hugh Findlay's "Practical Gardening" is a more elaborate work, but no less practical. Of special value are the hints regarding intensive gardening where space is limited. Community gardens are discussed; pictures as well as the text show how force and fatigue can be saved by the best way of handling garden tools; the author warns against combination tools. Considerable space is devoted to fruit-tree culture, with indication of the varieties best suited for different soils and States; but why ignore the best of all apples, the Gravenstein, as well as, in another chapter, escarolle, the best of all salads?

The last book on our list is an old friend, in its fourth edition, that need not again be commended. Flowers as well as vegetables are included in its scope.

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About Ourselves

Rekindled Fires. By Joseph Anthony. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

Salt: or, The Education of Griffith Adams. By Charles G. Norris. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.

READERS who contemn or ignore the current American novel on general principles might deal more fairly by themselves if they looked into some of our better novels now and then. Here, for example, are two narratives well worth following as documents or interpretations. They are very different in mood and substance. "Rekindled Fires," for all its accuracy of detail, takes its character from the demure humor with which the story-teller surrounds his figures and his action. Its theme is that of another recent book of somewhat similar character, "Our Natupski Neighbors." Both stories present the stranger within our gates as something more than material for the traditional "melting-pot" process, more than alien stuff to be absorbed and assimilated and made over into the likeness of the native. They show him giving as well as taking, a contributor of new force and substance to the national life. The scene of "Rekindled Fires" is the little New Jersey village of Creekville, in which a colony of Bohemians and a colony of Germans have established themselves. They are rivals in business and politics, the Germans with their efficiency, the Bohemians with their childlike ardor and knack of being happy. Our business is with the Bohemian Zabranskys. Michael Zabransky is a stout, middle-aged shoemaker, a local power in oratory and politics, and leader of those "Sons of Bohemia" who are pledged to hatred of priests, tyrants, and Germans, and to the propagation (by somewhat vague means) of Bohemian ideals. Zabransky is a great hater of vested authority—except his own as head of a household. His son Stanislav inherits his big frame, his golden tongue, and his desire for something more of interest and profit in life than the daily round of a wage-earner can afford. But Stanislav is of the second generation. He cannot be content with babbling of Bohemian ideals in the American market-place. Nor, on the other hand, is he to abandon those ideals, that pungent tang of national character, in mere conformity to the ways of the new world. First of all, he has the endowment of boundless energy and single-minded pursuit of the given object which enables the immigrant, trained in a harder school of competition, to stride by the native American, comfortably loitering by the wayside. The contrast is pointed here in the odd conjunction, in school and college, of Stanislav Zabransky—become Stanley Zabriskie—and Harry Johnston, the good-humored, careless, pampered son of present-day America. The comparison, but for dress and manners, is altogether in Stanley's favor. It is the Bohemian boy who works his way through college and wins the rewards of scholarship and the respect of the community.

"Salt," by Charles G. Norris, has quite another moral, or animus. It deals, to be sure, with quite another type of hero—one of the Harry Johnstons with whom our colleges are filled, and with whom, after the colleges have done their part in spoiling them, American society has to reckon as best it may. "Hero," of course, is not the word, for Mr. Norris is of the realistic tradition and practice. Happily, though he has the starkness of uncompromising practitioners like Mr. Dreiser, he is free from their working creed of animalism or diabolism. Griffith Adams is neither beast nor godling, but a young American of his generation. If we do not call him a commonplace or "average" young American, that is because the story-teller's art throws him into momentary relief as a person worth studying and believing in, against all odds. He is not a robust character, and we need frequent reassurances that he is anything better than a weakling. Griffith Adams is the son of a frivolous beauty and a dryasdust scholar. His loveless childhood at home is shortened by premature dismissal to boarding-school. There the brutality of the world is brought home to him, he is hardened and coarsened, taught to lie and to hate authority. His father dies, his mother continues to keep him at arm's length as an inconvenience. He drifts into a Western university. He "makes" one of the best fraternities and the exclusive sophomore drinking society; and floats through college as "one of the boys," conforming to the standards of his kind, throwing away the real opportunities, and in the end failing of graduation. Thus far all his training and experience have been in the wrong direction. Now the test comes. He returns home to find his mother dead and himself penniless. What is he to do? He has never really asked himself the question before. A queer, kindly, lonely half-brother takes him in, and, presently, gets him a job in the office of a great railway. There he is offered the chance to become confidential man of a department manager who is looking for a subordinate that can be "trusted." Griffith discovers that the department is honeycombed with graft, and that he is wanted as a man to help things along and keep still about them. This does not shock him because, mark you, he has been corrupted by "education." The collegiate customs of lying and cribbing and "swiping" in which he has been bred have altogether destroyed his sense of honor. He promptly embarks upon a little thieving enterprise of his own; and is indignant when chance exposes him and he loses his job. He has been selling mileage books at half-price and pocketing the half. This, he insists, is nothing at all. Everybody in the department has been doing that kind of thing; it seems to him very clever and natural! Here we must think Mr. Norris's arraignment of the American educational system (for that is the "idea" underlying his story) a bit shaky. We have never met a college man who could ever think it right for him to cheat his employer or steal from his stockholders because he once cribbed in Pol. Econ. or swiped the clapper of the Chapel bell. At this point, therefore, we can only feel that Griffith Adams is the victim of his author's hypothesis. Otherwise, it would be impossible to forgive or forget the youth's utter poltroonery and treachery when, in a desperate clutching at his own main chance, he babbles forth a betrayal of the man who, after all, has trusted him. He lacks, it seems, even the fidelity of the henchman. His skin is not to be saved at his friend's expense. He is cast adrift, still rudderless and nowhither bound. He drifts into a makeshift marriage, which yields him presently a motherless son. He is now the valet-secretary of an old man. At last he awakes to his inadequacy for life. This is still laid at the door of his college "training," which has trained him for nothing. The hour of his salvation strikes when he decides to learn the wool business from the bottom up and thus do something and become somebody in the world. He is on the way to "making good" and has roused himself to accept and return the love of a true mate, when we part with him. Somehow one gathers that his success in the

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wool business has qualified him to make Rosa happy. He has shaken off the debasing influences of the vague æstheticism and smattering information of the American universities, and tackled life full and hard.

Whatever one may feel to be the limitations of the central theme and the central figure, there is no escaping or wishing to escape the steady, pedestrian force of the narrative as a whole, and the often surprising, impressive, and homefelt quality of the portraiture. Griffith's mother, Griffith's brother, the sturdy and delightful Swiss family of the Pohlis among whom Griffith is to find his path, are memorable interpretations. One has the feeling, "Whether these things and people are all true or not, this place is true, this atmosphere, this society: it is America, it is *us!*"

The King's Mirror

The King's Mirror. Speculum Regale—Konungs Skuggsjá. Translated from the Old Norwegian by L. M. Larson. New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation. $3.

The Main Manuscript of Konungs Skuggsjá. Edited by G. T. Flom. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. $15.

THIS is the third in the stately series of monographs published, by the side of the more unpretentious "Classics," by the American-Scandinavian Foundation, "to promote the study of Scandinavian history and culture, in the belief that true knowledge of the North will contribute to the common profit on both sides of the Atlantic." It is to be set down to the credit of the editorial committee that the very broadest interpretation is given to this programme. For else it were, of course, a far cry indeed from a Mediæval Dialogue Between a Father and his Son to any very tangible "common profit on both sides of the Atlantic." It hardly requires the translator's clever but rather far-fetched attempt to connect its additional evidence of weighty Scandinavian contributions to European civilization with some ultra-modern issues of the war—viz., the well-known Pan-Germanist tenets of the inferiority of non-German civilizations and the destiny of the smaller states to be absorbed into the larger and stronger. Indeed, neither scholarship nor interest is advanced by this. All that is needful is to point out that the "Speculum Regale" has a peculiar national significance to the modern Norwegians in being the only noteworthy contribution of mediæval Norway to Old Norse letters—the Eddas and Sagas being incontestably the work of Icelanders. It has, however, an even more general appeal in furnishing the student of the culture and civilization of the early Middle Ages in the North a clear picture of the state of science, warfare, ethics, and the relation of Church to Throne. In science and the information necessary for merchants, the deliberately anonymous work shows independent observation and shrewd knowledge of the world, though bookish learning and credulity is in evidence, too. On the one hand we have "the description of the animal world of the northern seas to which there is no parallel in the early literature of the world" (Nansen); on the other, the childish credence given to absurd and extravagant accounts of miracles in Ireland. The author's acceptance of the Ptolemaic theory of a spherical earth—generally frowned on by the Church—testifies to the supremacy in Norway of the sceptre over the crozier, gained by the adventurer King Sverri and maintained by Håkon VI. Indeed, the strong insistence on the theory of kingship by the grace of God and divine right and of absolute monarchy has led some to suspect that Sverri himself, or at least one in his entourage, may have been the author. There is certainly an unmistakable similarity to the warrior monk's famous "Address against the Bishops," which is the first enunciation of this principle in European thought. But the emphatic reference to Adonijah and to the death of Joab in God's own tabernacle points decisively to the Norwegian Joab, Duke Skule, whose death occurred in sanctuary (1240). This event took place fully forty-five years after Sverri's death, and thus is the date *a quo*.

Strange as it may seem, this is practically the first translation of the entire monument into a modern tongue—barring the one into Danish and Latin of the splendid Sorö edition 150 years ago. Its value to the historian is still further enhanced by Professor Larson's well-considered introduction, which brings together and weighs the results of widely scattered investigations. Being the fruit of long and loving application, his translation is singularly felicitous in rendering the dignity of the ancient dialogue.

The Sorö edition was the work of Icelandic scholars and was based on an Icelandic manuscript which, though the most complete, was neither the earliest nor the best. A century later an edition appeared in Norway which was based on the best available manuscript; but the editors also used other versions and took great liberties with the orthography of the work. Brenner's edition (1881) reproduces more faithfully the copies used in the earlier editions, but in many respects his work leaves much to be desired. Some years ago Professor G. T. Flom, of the University of Illinois, examined the chief Norwegian manuscript of the "King's Mirror" in Copenhagen and made arrangements to have a photographic copy made of the entire work. This has since been published in phototypic reproduction with diplomatic text. It is now for the first time possible for students of Germanic languages and culture to consult this famous work in facsimile as well as in published text. In preparing the text it has been the editor's purpose to reproduce exactly the language of the original, "to offer a true picture of the MS. as it left the copyist." Additions, erasures, and corrections by later hands have therefore been disregarded.

Professor Flom has prefaced the edition with an extended introduction in which he discusses some of the many problems that always confront an editor of mediæval manuscripts. In this case the problems are largely paleographic. The manuscript is a copy, and the editor concludes on the basis of paleographic evidence that it must have been made a generation after the original was produced and scarcely later than 1290. From a study of the peculiarities of dialect he concludes that the manuscript was copied in eastern Norway. Both the facsimile, the text, and the binding show workmanship of the highest character, and the whole makes an unusually attractive volume.

Contributors to this Issue

J. A. Stevenson is a Canadian journalist who has enjoyed special opportunities for the study of the veteran movement.

Frederick Tupper, professor of English in the University of Vermont, is well known to *Nation* readers.

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Notes

IN his monograph on "Madame de Staël's Literary Reputation in England" (University of Illinois Studies, Urbana; 75 cents) Mr. Robert C. Whitford throws some interesting sidelights on Madame de Staël's relations with English society. Her "reputation" there was apparently founded on influential contacts rather than on a widespread appreciation of her literary excellence. "Delphine" was frowned upon, "Corinne" was indeed admired, but her great critical works were read and valued by comparatively few. It was rather the lady's general impressiveness, coupled with her social ability and her enmity for Napoleon, that gave her vogue in circles ranging from the Burneys to Lord Byron. The latter's amusing reactions, Sydney Smith's diatribes, the admiration shown by Sir James Mackintosh, and Jeffrey's masterly survey of the authoress's total achievement—these are some of the features of Mr. Whitford's study. The essay draws material from various British periodicals of the epoch, as well as from diaries such as Crabb Robinson's and Madame D'Arblay's; it suffers occasionally from a somewhat confused arrangement; but on the whole it is a distinct contribution to the field of Anglo-French interrelations during a crucial period.

ON our side of the Atlantic the name of the late Charles Morley is little more than a name, even though he was a nephew of Lord Morley and was for most of his life a familiar figure in London journalism on the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Westminster Gazette*, and the *Pall Mall Magazine*. The memoir in the present volume, "Travels in London" (Dutton; $2 net), will hardly clothe him with reality. His shy, diffident person stands out in very low relief from the background of faithful but unadventurous journalistic accomplishment. It must be conceded, however, that the papers themselves illustrate the superior style of the profession in Great Britain. The author everywhere displays a feeling for the value of words and a sense of English rhythm that make his pages pleasant to read. Possibly this artistic quality is to be expected in accounts of wanderings about Westminster or the Tower, but it also colors a picture of a visit behind the scenes at Drury Lane during rehearsal. The truth is, he wrote from love and not for immediate effect, and was thus able to infuse a leisurely charm very fitting to the subjects. Especially is this true of "'Moberly's'—and Rugby in the Late Sixties," an essay that reveals in tender light the enduring hold which public schools have had on favored English youth. Mediæval though those schools were in more than one respect, they bred men. Those who cherish "Tom Brown at Rugby" will wish to place this volume on the shelf beside it.

READERS of the portrait sketches of men and women in the public eye that have been appearing in the *Nation* for three years will be glad to have them in the convenient form of a volume. American journalism is unfortunately lacking in the interesting and illuminating character-and-anecdote vignette of which "National Miniatures" is so excellent an example (Knopf; $1.50 net). At once urbane and candid, well-informed but free from the fever of wanting to say everything before letting his hearer go, "Tattler" is an ideal impresario. He introduces his character, bids him go through a few of his paces, imparts a secret bit about him in your ear, and whisks him off the stage at just the right moment. No matter how often you may have seen the Secretary or the Senator, you see him more clearly for "Tattler's" skilful management of him. His view of him—or her—is the one that is likely to stick in your mind. The personages presented range from Jane Addams to Emma Goldman and from Bourke Cockran to President Wilson.

THE correspondence of a colonial agent in England before the American Revolution is so rare that the discovery and publication of a new and hitherto unknown series of letters is a cause for congratulation. In 1916, Charles G. Washburn purchased at auction in London a parcel of letters addressed to Jasper Mauduit, when agent of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, 1762–1765, and not only presented them to the Massachusetts Historical Society, but generously provided funds for their publication in its series of Collections (Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, Vol. 74). Except for the letters of Dennys De Berdt, printed by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, this group of Mauduit letters is the most complete that we have, and is of value not only as throwing light on the position of an agent in London, but also as furnishing information regarding the internal politics of the province and its relations with the British Government. The subjects presented are chiefly financial and military, but there are some helpful commentaries on legislation, commerce, and the state of religious and political opinion. Jasper Mauduit was seventy years old when appointed agent and because of age and disposition did not measure up to the requirements of the position. Associated with him was his brother, the Rev. Israel Mauduit, who paid more attention to woollen draperies than to preaching. The selection of these two leading Dissenters as agents of the colony was a victory for the dissenting party in Massachusetts over the Anglican and prerogative members of the Government, whose representative was William Bollan, Shirley's son-in-law and agent until 1762. There are in this volume a number of letters from Bollan, who was an abler man than either of the Mauduits. His displacement was an important event, the significance of which Mr. Washburn does not appreciate in his excellent introduction. The volume has been admirably edited by Worthington C. Ford.

THERE are plenty of histories of India, but few are in the tradition that was set by Sir William Hunter, and is now being well maintained by scholars like Vincent Smith. In between hovers a cloud of writers more or less accurate, and, by the very nature of their fascinating material, more or less readable and entertaining. Some profess scholarship, others, blandly ignoring the indigenous records, exploit to the utmost the interplay of action and event that richly characterizes the mediæval and modern periods. At the most, these writers have achieved picturesque books of adventure for the schoolroom. In the midst of these inadequate records appeared Col. L. J. Trotter's painstaking "History of India" in 1874, from the press of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Another edition was revised by the author in 1898. The present issue (Macmillan; $3.50 net) attests the value of the work, which is now edited and brought up to date by Archdeacon Hutton,

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the Oxford Reader in Indian History. He has added the chapter on Lord Curzon's administration and the concluding chapter on the Durbar of 1911. In reading Trotter's survey, we are impressed by the vast amount of work that has been done since his day in the fields of archæology, epigraphy, and ethnology, and it is refreshing to find the Victorian soldier-scholar taking stock of the early beginnings in these fields made by Fergusson and General Cunningham. It is a pity that no maps illustrate the progress made by the early invaders, nor, indeed, the regions and places made famous in the story. The survey has a swiftness and modernity of treatment that challenges reference and rereading. Archdeacon Hutton's notes supply the occasional *réchauffé* inevitable in a work of this nature. Among these is a reminder that one Sergeant Bernadotte, an adventurer in the French army, was taken prisoner by the English in the Carnatic, and became in due course the King of Sweden.

UNDER the title of "The Substance of Gothic" ($1.50), the Marshall-Jones Company of Boston has published six lectures by Prof. Ralph Adams Cram, delivered at the Lowell Institute in 1916. These set forth their author's philosophy and interpretation of the mediæval culture, and of the Gothic architecture of France as its consummate product and most perfect expression. More emphatically and fervently than in any former utterance Mr. Cram extols that culture above all that has gone before or since, alike in religion, society, and art. "The twelfth century was more truly democratic than any society before or since, if we consider democracy to consist, not in miscellaneous machinery and vicissitudinous panaceas, but in certain ends of right and justice. To-day . . . we have lost sight of democracy and have even forgotten of what it consists" (p. 108). This view is presented with a notable wealth of historical illustrations and no little learning, but it will hardly convince a skeptical reader; the presentation is too one-sided. On the other hand, the discussion of the antecedents, origins, development, and culmination of Gothic architecture is remarkably clear, discriminating, and rational and is wholly deserving of praise. Especially admirable is the fifth lecture on "The Gothic Synthesis," with brief but keenly discriminating word-sketches of some of the most important of the French cathedrals—Paris, Chartres, Bourges, Coutances, Rheims. The closing lecture is on "Decadence and New Paganism." The book is well worth reading, as a stimulus to reflection for those who disagree with its judgments, as well as for the amount of information compressed into its pages.

AN expedition "In Audubon's Labrador" is the excuse for another of Dr. Charles Wendell Townsend's delightful volumes on this northland (Houghton Mifflin; $2.50 net). In the year 1833 Audubon, with his son and several other young men, sailed in the schooner Ripley along the Labrador coast for a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, shooting, drawing, and painting. In two months' time this indefatigable worker added twenty-three drawings to his Birds of America portfolio. Almost exactly eighty-two years later Dr. Townsend in the schooner Sea Star followed in the wake of the great ornithologist, from the starting point Natashquan to Blanc Sablon. With him was a competent botanist, and in this volume we have a record of birds and plants, of animals and people, of scenery and incident which seems to have changed but little in the course of the four-score years. Here and there the author found some direct link, some man whose grandfather Audubon met and of whom he wrote, some harbor upon whose rocks and moss and lowly plants even centuries work but superficial change. We occasionally observe interesting coincidences. Audubon discovered and delineated a new species of finch, Lincoln's Sparrow, which he named after one of his young companions; and Dr. Townsend writes of "a small and insignificant looking bird, a Hudsonian chickadee, . . . apparently an undescribed sub-species," which he had the pleasure of describing and adding to the list of birds known to science. While Labrador is a land of great spaces and vast silences, of terrible storms and violent cold, yet the charm of this little-known wilderness is perhaps most vividly apparent in the lesser incidents. Here is one:

> I spent some time at a lake among the hills watching two broods of golden-eye ducks with their mothers. One brood of five were taking life easily as they floated about and preened their miniature wings and still more diminutive tails. They paid no attention to me; they had not learned to be afraid of man. The mother soon appeared, swimming leisurely around a point, but, as soon as she caught sight of the human intruder, she uttered a warning note and rapidly swam away. Later when I came upon this same brood, they were no longer unsophisticated, but dived at once and made off. They had been warned that I was dangerous.

Especial mention must be made of the last two chapters, dealing with conservation of wild life in general and of the eider ducks in particular. The eider is going the way of the Eskimo curlew and the passenger pigeon, and unless bird reservations are soon established, the fishermen and Indians with their dogs will absolutely exterminate this splendid and economically valuable species of wild bird. A map of the two Labrador trips and a good index complete a most satisfactory piece of work.

IN his work, "American Railway Accounting" (Holt; $3 net), Prof. Henry C. Adams considers in detail the system of railway accounting built up by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Mr. Adams's careful book is intended for advanced students in accounting, and its chief aim is to explain accepted accounting rules.

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Drama

Players and Theatres

Problems of the Actor. By Louis Calvert. New York: Henry Holt & Company. $1.60 net.

The Little Theatre in the United States. By Constance D'Arcy Mackay. New York: Henry Holt & Company. $2 net.

The Community Theatre. By Louise Burleigh. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. $1.50 net.

IN the great mass of sophomorical, fantastical, or rhapsodical twaddle printed about plays and players it is a pleasure to come across a book so full of practical knowledge and sound common and artistic sense as "Problems of the Actor." This is the work of Louis Calvert, a thoroughly competent, all-round actor, reared in the famous Manchester school, and rich in practical experience gained in every variety of classic and modern drama. Not only is he a master of his subject in all its phases, but he is able to talk about it simply and intelligently, defining the fundamental principles of the coöperative arts of the actor and the producer with authoritative precision and seldom proclaiming a rule without giving a satisfactory reason for it. What he has to say—and he says it excellently—is all good, but not, of course, new. To the few survivors of an earlier theatrical generation much of it will sound like a recitation of platitudes. But they are mostly forgotten platitudes that must be revived and enforced if we are ever again to have an artistic theatre. The gist of them may be summed up very briefly as follows: The actor, as any other professional man, must learn his business, by dint of study and practice, preferably in a repertory company, from the rudiments up. Hard work is of greater avail than natural aptitude, though the latter may be an advantage. Befitting speech, gestures, carriage, movements, repose, expression, are arts which must be acquired. They do not come by intuition. The star system, and long runs, are abominable. A part should be studied as a whole, and in its relations to other characters in the play, so as to insure proper proportion and effect, not solely with a view to possible points to be made by the individual performer. In tragedy the skilful player will be careful to husband his physical resources for the passionate climaxes. Always each player upon the stage, even when temporarily silent and inactive, must be intent upon maintaining the illusion of the scene by his simulated interest in the sayings or doings of his associates. Upon this artistic coöperation—now so rare—and the intelligent employment of it he lays much stress, enforcing the power of it by apt illustration. He makes some acute reflections upon comic and tragic acting, and with reference to the latter observes that the player ought never to feel the counterfeit emotion so intensely as to lose his control of it. Nearly all actors are fond of talking about "feeling" their parts, but the greatest of them had a perfect intellectual comprehension of them and therefore were able to endow them with the proper fictitious characteristics. Not only Ellen Terry has been able to shed tears at will. One notable instance was Clara Morris, who could whisper jokes in her apparently most agonized moments. Salvini's Othello was calculated in its minutest details which, once determined, were never varied. The chapter on lighting and scenery is full of practical knowledge and shrewd comment, especially when dealing with the whims of Gordon Craig. The play and the acting must always be the objects of primary importance in the artistic theatre. The remarks on music and costume are also admirable. This is a book which ought to be in the hands of every young player.

All persons interested in the development of the Little Theatre movement in this country will find a most convenient and well-edited handbook in "The Little Theatre in the United States," compiled by Constance D'Arcy Mackay. It contains a complete, and apparently accurate, list of the various organizations of the kind in this country, with brief accounts of their origin, policies, and achievements, and descriptions, wherever attainable, of the buildings which they occupy, and their stage equipment. In most cases these are accompanied by complete lists of the various productions made up to date with more or less critical commentaries. There is also a brief review of the principal little theatres in Europe, which set the example so widely followed here. The value of the work is increased by an excellent index, making access to any desired item of information swift and easy, and by a number of photographic illustrations. For the orderliness of its arrangement, and the conscientious labor bestowed upon its compilation, the volume is entitled to a word of hearty commendation. Naturally, it offers little that is absolutely new, but that consideration does not diminish the value of its collation of facts.

To all those who believe in the humanizing and educational influences of the stage, in its best estate, there is something very attractive in the idea of "The Community Theatre," which is the title of a volume recently published by Louise Burleigh. Her definition of such an organization is "a house of play in which events offer to every member of a body politic active participation in a common interest." To offer an opportunity is one thing; to insure acceptance of it quite another. So far as great cities are concerned, Miss Burleigh, in her consuming zeal, overlooks a good many obvious difficulties. In New York, for instance, there is room for any number of community theatres, but it would be an almost hopeless task to establish any bond of common interest between them. Her definition is far too vague and elastic. It is when she dilates upon the almost limitless functions and scope of the ideal theatre that she exhibits the clearest vision. She devotes much space to a description of the popular success of the masque of "Caliban," which was, in many ways, a memorable achievement, but it may be doubted whether it had the social significance which she seems disposed to attach to it. The occasion was very special, and the proportion of the community engaged in it, except as spectators, was infinitesimal. Nor are the after-effects discernible. Undoubtedly she is perfectly justified in quoting the instance of Oberammergau, with its secluded population almost wholly enlisted in the service of the Passion Play, as a striking example of the capabilities of a true community theatre, but in this case again the conditions are so peculiar that it is scarcely a convincing precedent. But it does indicate, among other things, that it is in small towns and villages, with their close interrelationship and comparative absence of conflicting interests, that the community theatre is likely to find its best field. This is in accordance with most past and present experiences. Referring once more to Miss Burleigh's definition of a community theatre, the question suggests itself whether it might not be made to include the professional stage itself.

J. R. T.

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BOOKS OF THE WEEK

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

Bergengren, R. The Comforts of Home. Atlantic Monthly Press. 75 cents.
Graham, S. The Quest of the Face. Macmillan. $1.75.
Hackett, F. Horizons. Huebsch. $2.
Heller, O. Prophets of Dissent. Knopf. $1.50 net.
Ravenel, F. L. Women and the French Tradition. Macmillan. $1.50.
Symons, A. Colour Studies in Paris. Dutton. $3 net.

POETRY AND DRAMA

Beer, M. A. Songs of Manhattan. Boston: Cornhill. $1.25.
Bridgman, A. S. Song-Flame. Boston: Stratford. $1.50 net.
Carmichael, W. T. From the Heart of a Folk. Boston: Cornhill. $1.
De La Mare, W. Motley and Other Poems. Holt. $1.25 net.
Dithridge, E. As Thou Wilt and Other Poems. Boston: Stratford. $1 net.
Flower, V. The Fairy Islands and Other Poems. Boston: Cornhill. $1.25.
Gift, F. Rain in May and Other Verses. Boston: The Four Seas Co. $1.25 net.
Joyce, J. Exiles. Huebsch. $1.
Leveridge, L. Over the Hills of Home and Other Poems. Dutton. $1 net.
Maeterlinck, M. The Miracle of St. Anthony. Translated by A. T. de Mattos. Dodd, Mead. $1.50 net.
Plays of the 47 Workshop, Harvard. Edited by G. P. Baker. New York: Brentano.
Plays of the Harvard Dramatic Club. Edited by G. P. Baker. New York: Brentano.
Snider, D. J. The House of Dreamery. St. Louis: Sigma Publishing Co.
The Golden Treasury of Magazine Verse. Edited by W. T. Braithwaite. Small, Maynard. $2 net.

FICTION

Brebner, P. J. Christopher Quarles. Dutton.
Giesy, J. U. Mimi. Harper. 75 cents net.
Gorki, M. Stories of the Steppe. Boston: Stratford. 25 cents.
Harris-Burland, J. B. The White Rook. Knopf. $1.35 net.
Hughes, R. The Unpardonable Sin. Harper. $1.50 net.
King, B. Abraham's Bosom. Harper. 50 cents net.
Mayo, K. The Standard Bearers. Houghton Mifflin. $1.50 net.
Rickard, Mrs. Victor. The Light Above the Cross Roads. Dodd, Mead. $1.50 net.
Tolstoi, L. What Men Live By and Other Stories. Boston: Stratford. 25 cents.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Forbes, N., Toynbee, A. J., Mitrany, D., Hogarth, D. G. The Balkans. Oxford University Press. $2.25.
Gladstone, Viscount. W. G. C. Gladstone. London: Nisbet.
Legouis, E. The Early Life of William Wordsworth, 1770-1798. Translated by J. W. Matthews. Dutton. $3.50 net.
Marriott, J. A. R., and Robertson, C. G. The Evolution of Prussia. Oxford University Press. $2.25.
Teggart, F. J. The Processes of History. Yale University Press. $1.25 net.
Wetterlé, E. Behind the Scenes in the Reichstag. Translated by G. F. Lees. Doran.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

Allen, E. F. A Guide to the National Parks of America. New, enlarged edition. McBride. $1.25 net.
Saunders, C. F. Finding the Worth While in the Southwest. McBride. $1.25 net.
Sweetser, M. F. A Guide to the White Mountains. Revised edition. Houghton Mifflin. $2.75.

SOCIAL SCIENCE

Bres, R. F. Maids, Wives, and Widows. Dutton. $2 net.
Cahn, H. Capital To-day. Second edition. Putnam. $2 net.
Carpenter, W. S. Judicial Tenure in the United States. Yale University Press. $1.50 net.
Drake, P. H. Democracy Made Safe. Boston: Le Roy Phillips. $1 net.
Houghton, L. S. Our Debt to the Red Man. Boston: Stratford. $1.50 net.
Miller, K. An Appeal to Conscience. Macmillan. 60 cents.
Pollock, I. V. History of Economic Legislation in Iowa. Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa.
President Wilson's Foreign Policy. Messages, Addresses, Papers. Edited by J. B. Scott. Oxford University Press. $3.50.
President Wilson's State Papers and Addresses. Doran. $2 net.
Spargo, J. Americanism and Social Democracy. Harper. $1.50 net.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

Kirkland, W. The New Death. Houghton Mifflin. $1.25 net.
Martin, T. M. Why Was the War Permitted? Published by the author.

EDUCATION

Burch, H. R., and Patterson, S. H. American Social Problems. Macmillan. $1.20.
Everychild's Series: Bird, G. E., and Starling, M. Historial Plays for Children. James, H. The Building of Cities. MacElroy, M. H. Work and Play in Colonial Days. Werthner, W. B. How Man Makes Markets. Macmillan. 40 cents each.
Good, H. G. Benjamin Rush and His Services to American Education. Bluffton, Ohio: American Educator Co. $1.60.
Hervey, W. A. A Syllabus and Selected Bibliography of Lessing, Goethe, Schiller. Columbia University Press. $1 net.
Liberty, Peace, and Justice. Riverside Literature Series. Houghton Mifflin. 32 cents.
Simpson, M. E. Supervised Study in American History. Macmillan. $1.20.

THE WAR

Ajax. The German Pirate. Doran. 75 cents net.
Bryan, J. H. "Ambulance 464." Macmillan. $1.50.
Churchill, M. S. You Who Can Help. Small, Maynard. $1.25 net.
Cuvru-Magot, H. Beyond the Marne. Translated by K. Babbitt. Small, Maynard. $1 net.
De Florez, C. "No 6." Dutton. $1.50 net.
Gardiner, J. B. W. German Plans for the Next War. Doubleday, Page. $1 net.
Haigh, R. Life in a Tank. Houghton Mifflin. $1.25 net.
Hall, J. N. High Adventure. Houghton Mifflin. $1.50 net.
Paine, R. D. The Fighting Fleets. Houghton Mifflin. $2 net.
Strunsky, S. Little Journeys Towards Paris, 1914-1918. Holt. 60 cents net.
Suter-Lerch, H. J. Germany Her Own Judge. Houghton Mifflin. 50 cents net.
"Taffrail." The Sub. Doran. $1.35 net.
Warren, M. R. The White Flame of France. Small, Maynard. $1.50 net.

JUVENILE

Collins, A. F. The Boys' Book of Engine-Building. Small, Maynard. $1.25 net.
Purdy, N. S. Four-Leaf Clover. Small, Maynard. $1.25 net.
Rich, E. G. Why-So Stories. Small, Maynard. $1.25 net.
Smith, G Jolly Polly. Small, Maynard. $1 net.

MISCELLANEOUS

Anonymous. Thompson. Houghton Mifflin. 75 cents net.
Capek, T., and Capek, A. V. Bohemian Bibliography. Revell. $1.50 net.
Clarke, E. E. Guide to the Use of United States Government Publications. The Boston Book Company.
Delano, S. How Shall I Take Exercise and Set-Up? Boston: Four Seas Company. $2 net.
Langdon, W. C. Abraham Lincoln To-day. University of Illinois.
Standard Cotton Mill Practice and Equipment. Boston: The National Association of Cotton Manufacturers. $1.50.
Turner, A. Sewing and Textiles. Appleton. $1.75 net.

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Summary of the News

MILITARY news during the last week in June has been comparatively unimportant, for the fighting has been of minor consequence, with local results only. The Italian counter-blow against the Austrians on the Piave practically ended on June 24, since when there has been no marked advance. At present the Italians have completely reoccupied the western bank of the Piave. On June 25 they began an offensive on the mountain front between the Piave and the Brenta, in the Monte Grappa sector, and advanced slightly on the Asiago plateau. On June 26 they occupied and extended the Capo Sile bridgehead and extended their gains on the lower Piave. Because of local difficulties, however, the Italians have not been able to follow up their initial success into the Austrian lines across the Piave. Accounts of the losses on both sides vary greatly. The Italians report 18,000 prisoners taken during their counter-offensive, and claim that the Austrian total losses were more than 200,000; the Austrians claim that the Italians lost 150,000 since June 15, among these more than 50,000 prisoners.

UNITED STATES troops have been particularly active on the western front in the sector near Belleau Wood. On June 25 they captured a German stronghold south of the village of Torcy, northwest of Château Thierry, taking about 300 prisoners, many machine guns, and much ammunition. Americans have also been active northwest of Montdidier, where they took a number of prisoners, and in the Vosges district.

AMERICAN troops are at present engaged in eight sectors on the western front from Montdidier to Belfort. These include the sector near Montdidier, and those northwest of Château Thierry, east of Château Thierry, at Toul, in Lorraine, and three sectors in Alsace. Some of these are held by Americans alone, others by Americans with the French. Those at Château Thierry, Montdidier, and Toul have seen the most fighting.

ON other sectors there has been little change. The French advanced their line slightly on the Avre River, in Senecat Wood and held their line against enemy attacks southeast of Soissons. The British, in an attack in Flanders, east of Nieppe Wood, took 400 prisoners; and they also captured a number of prisoners and machine guns west of Vieux Berquin. Artillery duels have been especially lively on the Aisne River and southwest of Arras throughout the week.

AUSTRIA, after her defeat on the Piave, faces even more serious difficulties at home than before. The food situation has grown worse instead of better, strikes are reported to be increasing in Hungary, and the Austrian Cabinet is still in an unstable condition. None the less, it must not be assumed, says a French official summary, that a successful revolt is probable in the Dual Monarchy. Since the Labor party in Vienna is German, and the revolutionary party in Budapest is Magyar, while the nationalist claims of the Czecho-Slovaks stand in the way of any union with other revolutionary elements, this division on racial lines prevents an alliance among these disintegrating factions.

THE speech of Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, the German Foreign Secretary, before the Reichstag on June 24, discussed both the military situation and the outlook for peace. He indicated that he believed the war would be a long one, and that it would be ended, not by arms, but by diplomatic negotiations; and he expressed the hope that the Allies would "approach us with peace offers which will correspond with the situation and satisfy Germany's vital needs." He added that Germany took the same stand as ex-Premier Asquith when he said before the House of Commons on May 18 that a deaf ear would not be turned to any proposals clearly stated. He denied that Germany aimed at world domination, and said she and her allies merely required freedom and integrity of their territorial possessions and freedom of the seas. Chancellor von Hertling referred to President Wilson's "four points of peace," and said that he had declared these might form the basis of a general peace, but that "no utterance of President Wilson whatever followed this, so that there is no object in spinning any further the threads there started."

IRELAND and the Irish muddle again came to the fore in Premier Lloyd George's announcement in the House of Commons on June 25 that, before putting conscription in operation in Ireland, a scheme of voluntary recruiting should be set up. He admitted that it was a fatal blunder not to have put through Home Rule when the Government proclaimed this policy, but he believed that Parliament could still carry through a measure of Home Rule which would deal justly with the legitimate objections of a large part of the Irish community, although at present the situation was more difficult than ever. Mr. John Dillon, leader of the Nationalist Party, declared in Dublin, at a meeting of the United Irish League, that, until the government of their own country was handed over to Irishmen, no active support would be given to the Irish Recruiting Committee by either the Catholic Church or the Nationalist Party. Mr. Dillon further declared that the British Government was making use of the Sinn Fein difficulties in order to create a situation which would discredit the Irish throughout the world. The British Labor Conference, at its concluding session on June 28, passed a resolution calling on the Dominion statesmen now in conference in London "to insist on the British Government settling the Irish question by granting to Ireland a large measure of Home Rule."

THE British Labor Party, at its conference in London on June 26, passed a resolution ending the party truce that has been in effect since early in the war. Under the leadership of Mr. Arthur Henderson, this more influential and larger group of the labor parties is now free to pursue its own programme and is no longer bound to support the Government in matters to which it is opposed. It will be able to contest bye-elections, and thus to increase its representation in the House of Commons, while a general election in the autumn is thus made more probable. The passing of the resolution by a vote of nearly two to one is considered a distinct gain for the radical element in the party.

THE Russian situation is increasingly difficult to understand from the confused and conflicting news of the past week. Contradictory rumors twice reported the ex-Czar assassinated, while Grand Duke Michael, the ex-Czar's younger brother, was reported to have been made chief of the new Siberian Government. The Czecho-Slovaks, according to another unconfirmed account, captured Irkutsk. On June 26 the Bolshevist Government was reported to have been overthrown, and Grand Duke Nicholas proclaimed Emperor. On June 29 it was announced that Germany was about to intervene to assist the Bolsheviki in restoring order. Meanwhile the Russians themselves do not despair of the Revolution. On June 26 Alexander Kerensky appeared in London and was introduced to the British Labor Conference, then meeting, by Mr. Arthur Henderson. Among other suggestions made as to the best way of helping Russia, Kerensky said that Russia was recovering her strength, and that she "does not want interference in her internal affairs"; that she needed, not armed intervention, but assistance from outside.

ECONOMIC invasion of Russia is said to be the plan worked out by President Wilson for the immediate aid of Russia. A civilian commission, as an advance agency to perfect the details of the plan, is now advocated, while the military part of the expedition, if needed, is to be confined to a guard for supplies that may be sent. This plan, while not yet formally announced, has been formulated at a Cabinet meeting and other official gatherings by the President during the last week in June.

PANAMA and Colon have been policed by American troops since June 28, when action was taken under the treaty of 1904, authorizing the United States to assume this police duty whenever it was necessary to maintain order. The Panama Government has protested to Washington against the measure taken. Conditions in the two cities caused trouble with soldiers in the Canal Zone, and as a result the elections fixed for June 30 and July 7 were postponed, but, according to the Panama Government, no disorders had been reported since the announcement that the decree forbidding the elections would be enforced by the police.

TONNAGE losses in May, according to the British Admiralty's monthly statement, were, in British merchant shipping, 224,735 tons; in Allied and neutral shipping, 130,959 tons. The May aggregate is 355,694 tons, as against 311,456 tons in April. The German statement claims nearly 300,000 tons more in their report of May sinkings. Meanwhile, shipbuilding in the Allied countries has now caught up with the destruction in tonnage, and the submarine menace has been met.

THE war has cost the United States nearly $14,000,000,000 during the first fiscal year ending June 30, whereas in peace times the annual outlay of the Government is less than $1,000,000,000. At present the war is costing the country about $50,000,000 a day, and in June the outlay was $1,500,000,000, about the same as in May. Loans to the Allies now amount to $4,708,000,000, and expenses for various Government departments to $7,567,000,000.

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